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ABSTRACT

This guide contains resources gathered by the Department of the Army to celebrate the bicentennial of the U.S. Constitution. Within the document, there are brief historical facts about: (1) the Constitutional Convention; (2) the early years of the Constitutional government; and (3) the U.S. Army of the 1780s and 1790s. There are also condensed versions of 23 soldier/statesmen pamphlets, five speeches on the U.S. Constitution, and statements and quotations on civilian control, national security, and George Washington. The appendices contain: (1) the complete text of the U.S. Constitution and its amendments; (2) popular 18th century songs with music and lyrics; (3) an ARNEWS artwork supplement of artwork and drawings; (4) a chronology of events from 1783 to 1803; and (5) a 10-page list of resources for teaching about the U.S. Constitution. (DJC)

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ED299182

Officially Recognized by
e Commission on the
centennial of the United
tes Constitution

A Resource Guide

BICENTENNIAL OF THE CONSTITUTION

CONSTITUTION BICENTENNIAL ☆ 1787-1987 ☆ DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

Go Washington

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We the People of the United States, in Order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

In a nutshell this explains the reason we celebrate the Bicentennial of the Constitution. As military or civilian representatives of the Armed Forces of the United States, our first official act when we enlist or accept commissions or federal appointments is to swear an oath to defend and support the Constitution. This very act makes us unique from most Americans. Why? Because only federal government personnel — including military and civilians, as well as elected or appointed officials — swear this oath to defend and support the very fabric of our government and way of life. This is our first duty to the Nation and it is given in the phrase, "to provide for the common defence." And, providing for the common defense is related to the last phrase: "securing the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity." For it is through our energies and our dedication to duty that we provide the defense that sustains our liberty.

A message to those who teach:

Telling the great story of our Constitution, especially in the education of younger Americans, must be a primary focus of attention as America carries on during the next four years with the commemoration of that Constitution and the beginnings of our federal system of government. This represents the wisest investment in a future whose generations will continue to understand and appreciate, as well as enjoy, those blessings which have been bestowed upon us during the last two centuries. George Mason, author of the Virginia Declaration of Rights, said that if a free people do not look back at their rights and how they secured them, they take the risk of losing them.

The Department of the Army and the Bicentennial Commission have worked together in the telling of this story. This book is a useful tool for all who teach. We hope that this revised edition of the guide will become a valued resource everywhere on the meaning of our nation's Charter.

John O. Marsh, Jr. Warren E. Burger

John O. Marsh, Jr.
Secretary of the Army

Warren E. Burger
Chairman of the Commission
on the Bicentennial of the
United States Constitution

Bicentennial of the Constitution

A Resource Guide

Chief of Public Affairs

Command Information Division

U.S. ARMY

Officially Recognized by the Commission on the Bicentennial of the United States Constitution

Limitations: The material contained in the Department of the Army's Bicentennial of the Constitution: A Resource Guide, was designed specifically to help commands and public affairs officers plan for observances of the Bicentennial of the Constitution. Local reproduction of the guide is encouraged. Published by the Department of the Army's Office of the Chief, Public Affairs, Command Information Division (SAPA-CI-PMB), Pentagon, Washington, D.C. 20310.

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PURPOSE

The purpose of this publication is to serve as a resource guide for the commanders and staff, down to and including battalion levels, in commemorating the Bicentennial of the United States Constitution. The Department of the Army has been designated the Executive Agent for the Department of Defense for celebrating the Constitution's 200th birthday: this book was designed to help you do just that. It contains information which will help you plan, prepare, discuss and carry out our tasks for celebrating the Constitution's first 200 years.

This book, which was prepared by the Office, Chief of Public Affairs, Command Information Division, outlines programs being undertaken by the Department of the Army's Office of the Bicentennial of the United States Constitution and OCPA to celebrate the Constitution nationwide and suggests ways to commemorate the celebration at the local level. There are brief historical facts about what went on at the Constitutional Convention, conditions and influences in America which led to the drafting of the Constitution, and life as a soldier and citizen in a settled and unsettled United States.

There are condensed versions of the 23 Soldier/Statesmen Pamphlets, and an award-winning speech given by the Secretary of the Army John O. Marsh, Jr. entitled "The World of James Madison." The book also contains five prepared speeches on the Constitution which focus upon five differing perspectives: Hope, Freedom, Call, Mission and Vision.

In Appendices there is the entire text of the Constitution; music, with lyrics, of songs popular during the period; a special ARNEWS Artwork supplement of artwork and drawings; and a chronology of historical and significant events which took place between 1783 to 1803.

This book is for your command or office and should be utilized to its fullest extent in your commemoration of the Constitution Bicentennial. It is a tool to help "Tell the Army Story" and its role in defending the Constitution. Use it also to inform your audiences of the significance of the Constitution and its unique value as a document that has shook the world to its foundation proclaiming liberty for all.

Acknowledgment: The Department of the Army expresses its thanks and appreciation to "Project 87" (The American Historical Association and American Political Science Association) and the Commission on the Bicentennial of the United States Constitution for its help in the publication of this book.

Chapter 1

ACTIVITIES

8

REMARKS OF CARL ALBERT
SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

American Revolution Bicentennial Commission
Ceremony Launching the Bicentennial Era

A MORE PERFECT UNION

Amid the dissension that sometimes amounts to hate in our country today, it behooves us to remind ourselves that we are a united nation where every individual, regardless of race, color, creed or economic status, is under our system clothed in the dignity that befits the image of his Maker.

America's first form of government was a confederation of states, loosely organized, but with the Articles of Confederation came chaos and black despair. There could be no liberty without union, no independence without strength. And so it was that in May 1787, a group of earnest men, representatives of the American States, assembled in the city of Philadelphia and formulated a Constitution providing for a more perfect union and guaranteeing the individual rights of men to themselves and their posterity.

In forging that Union, they constructed a system of government rigid enough to preserve its basic principles, flexible enough to be applied to any new conditions brought on the tide of time, conservative enough to protect the individual from the fickle winds of popular impulse. Forged to protect and to secure individual liberty, that government is yet ever responsive to the will of the majority, for by empowering the people with the right to elect their representatives, it gives the people the right to make and enforce the law and to control and operate their whole machinery of government. By dividing responsibility between an executive, a legislature, and an independent judiciary, that government prevents tyranny over men.

After nearly 200 years, that government still stands tall and rugged. It emerged from the Civil War unimpaired. It emerged from the two mightiest world wars in history, grand and glorious. It has survived depressions, and riots, and troubles of all kinds, but it stands today as a monument to that spirit of forbearance, compromise, and self-restraint that has kept our Constitution vibrant. That same spirit will allay the divisions which haunt our time and will ensure for us and our posterity the blessings of liberty, and a still more perfect union.

National Archives Building
Washington, D.C.
July 3, 1971

SECRETARY OF THE ARMY
WASHINGTON

14 August 1986

MEMORANDUM FOR CHIEF OF STAFF, ARMY

SUBJECT: Department of the Army Plan for Commemorating the Bicentennial of the United States Constitution

The Commission on the Bicentennial of the United States Constitution was established by Act of Congress, Public Law 98-101, and signed by the President on September 29, 1983. The purpose of the Commission is to promote and coordinate activities to commemorate the Bicentennial of the Constitution. The major goal is to heighten public awareness and deepen understanding of the Constitution, the freedoms it guarantees, and the civic responsibilities necessary to its preservation and vitality. The Commission has requested the cooperation and assistance of the Department of Defense (DOD), as well as other agencies of the Federal government, in carrying out its mission. Headquarters Department of the Army (DA) is designated as Executive Agent to plan and conduct the DOD program.

I urge all organizations within DA to conduct activities and to participate, as appropriate, in non-DOD sponsored activities to commemorate this most important milestone in American history.

John O. Marsh, Jr.

ARMY FOCUS DURING THE BICENTENNIAL OF THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION

Thursday, 17 September 1987, marked the 200th anniversary of the United States Constitution and concluded a year of activities throughout the Army. The Army worked closely with the Presidential Commission that was established to oversee the national commemoration. HQDA had executive agent responsibility for the DOD program.

The program received the personal attention of Secretary of the Army John O. Marsh, Jr. At every opportunity, he expressed to his audience the historic significance of the Constitution, how it was conceived, and most importantly, the role of the 40 signers, including the 23 Soldier-Statesmen Signers who served in the Continental Army or state militia. His objective was to provide to soldiers, their families, and civilian employees a history and civics lesson on the importance of the Constitution to all Americans and the sense of "values" exhibited by the 23 Soldier-Statesmen Signers in developing the "law of the land." The Secretary chaired the Armed Forces Bicentennial Executive Committee, which consisted of general officer/flag officer representation from each military department. Army focus was:

- Role and relationships of military in National Government.
- Educational and historical lessons for soldiers, sailors, airmen, marines, their families, and civilian employees.
- Sense of commitment, values, and public service of 23 Soldier-Statesmen Signers.
- Civilian control over the military.

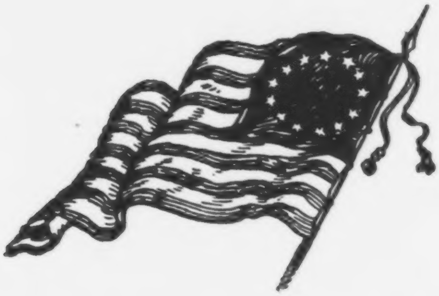
Some of the major historical events leading up to the Bicentennial of the signing and ratification of the United States Constitution that were featured in the Army's commemoration were:

- 11-14 September 1986 —Two hundredth anniversary of the Annapolis Convention.
- 17 September 1986 —Constitution Day, the one hundred ninety-ninth anniversary of the Constitution.
- 25 May 1987 —Two hundredth anniversary of the Constitutional Convention.
- 17 September 1987 —Two hundredth anniversary of the formal signing of the Constitution and the adjournment of the Constitutional Convention.
- 21 June 1988 —Two hundredth anniversary of the ratification of the Constitution.
- 4 March 1989 —Two hundredth anniversary of the day the First Congress under the Constitution met in New York City.
- 30 April 1989 —Two hundredth anniversary of the inauguration of George Washington as the first President of the United States under the Constitution.
- 24 September 1989 —Two hundredth anniversary of the Federal Judiciary Act of 1789, which established the Supreme Court of the United States, thirteen circuit courts, and the office of the Attorney General.

The plan was to weave the thread of the Constitution through the various activities conducted during the Bicentennial period. Opportunities to highlight the Constitution throughout the Army included Armed Forces Day, Army Birthday, Independence Day, Centennial of the Statue of Liberty, Veterans Day, and Yorktown Day.

Specific programs included:

- Soldier-Statesmen Brochures. One brochure was published on each of the 23 Soldier-Statesmen Signers who served in the Continental Army or the militia. The brochures were distributed Army-wide, one per month through September 1987. Copies were also provided to active and retired GOs, ROTC offices, federal and state agencies, major colleges and universities, members of Congress, and national organizations.
- Videotapes. One-minute public service announcements were produced on each of the 40 signers, similar to the Bicentennial minute PSAs aired during the United States Bicentennial. These videotapes were distributed Army-wide for use on AFRTS. They were also provided to external TV outlets.
- Military History Lecture Series. The Center of Military History sponsored a lecture series on the general history of the Constitution. Five lectures were presented at Fort McNair in Washington, D.C., during October 1986-August 1987.
- Bicentennial Bullets. A daily account of events leading up to the development and ratification of the Constitution was aired by Army Information Radio Service and published in ARNEWS and other command information products. These events were listed in a Bicentennial calendar published by the presidential commission. Copies of the calendar were requested for distribution to PAOs.
- Pentagon Exhibits. A hall of military signers of the United States Constitution corridor was dedicated on the third floor, E Ring, 7th corridor, at the Pentagon on 17 September 1986. An exhibit on the Constitution located in the display cases near the Hall of Heroes at the Pentagon was dedicated on 15 September 1987.
- Touring Exhibit. A modular Army exhibit on the Constitution toured by USAREC throughout the United States in 1987 at population centers, conventions, and other selected locations. Soldier-Statesmen Brochures were used as handouts with the exhibit. The exhibit is scheduled into 1989.
- Field Band Activities. A "We the People" music album, similar to the one produced for the Yorktown Bicentennial, was prepared by the U.S. Army Field Band. The Bicentennial was recognized at each of the field band performances during 1986-1987. Cassettes are available for purchase by the general public at the National Archives gift shop. A concert commemorating the Constitution Bicentennial was held at the Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts Concert Hall on 14 September 1987.
- Spirit of America. Military District of Washington revised the Spirit of America script to include additional material on the Constitution for the 1987 production. After performances at Capital Centre in June, the pageant moved to Philadelphia with performances at Convention Hall during 3-4 July.



SUGGESTIONS FOR BICENTENNIAL EVENTS CELEBRATING THE CONSTITUTION AT THE INSTALLATION LEVEL

The following suggestions are provided to help you plan and celebrate the Bicentennial of the United States Constitution. Some of them will be used by State Bicentennial Commissions and have been recommended by the Commission on the Bicentennial of the United States. Many others have been used by Army public affairs officers in commemorating Yorktown.

GENERAL

1. Conduct programs or band concerts featuring Revolutionary War music and/or music of the mid and late 18th Century on Constitution Day. Some popular songs of the era are located in Appendix B.
2. Sponsor or ask civilian groups to sponsor a tree planting ceremony or a Constitution garden planting which commemorates the signing of the Constitution.
3. Ask local TV/Radio stations to salute state and local historical figures who played a part in the signing or debates at the Constitutional Convention, or who played a key part in the formation of our government under the Constitution.
4. Use Revolutionary War or Era music as background for CI spots highlighting the 23 Soldier/Statesmen, Constitutional Convention vignettes,and bits of American history in the late 18th century.
5. Arrange spot 'Public Service' announcements on TV/Radio on the Constitution and the events and debates surrounding the signing. Use the Army-produced Bicentennial minutes, if supplied, on internal TV programming.
6. Encourage the media to publish articles on the Army's role in the founding of our nation.
7. Publish articles/art about the Constitution and 18th century American history written by newspaper staff members (OCPA-CID-Newspaper Branch Mini-Page), local historians, professors, Army News Service and lawyers, or JAG officers, versed in Constitutional law (interviews on the Constitution and law are recommended).
8. Publish commentary by commander, newspaper staff members, local historians, professors, and lawyers or JAG officers versed in Constitutional law.
9. Publish PSAs announcing the Bicentennial of the Constitution in the post newspaper.
10. Work with area schools to establish a speakers program to discuss the history of the Army, noting its evolution between 1783 to 1803, and its contribution in the founding of our nation and its role of providing for the common defense.
11. Encourage church officials to ring bells on Constitution Day. Publicize this to the community.
12. Publish special brochures on observances and special inserts for daily bulletins, newspapers, posters, or flyers to publicize.
13. Encourage all residents to fly the American flag on Constitution Day.
14. Develop and encourage essay writing contests, debates, spelling bees and other educational programs at area schools and colleges about the Constitution.
15. Assist state bicentennial commissions when requested.
16. Sponsor Bicentennial 10K runs, tennis matches, turkey shoots and other amateur sporting events.

SPEAKING PROJECTS

1. Remind local and community clubs of upcoming Bicentennial of the Constitution events. Offer assistance in locating or encouraging them to locate historians, Constitutional lawyers, and servicemembers to speak about the significance and history surrounding the Constitution and its signing.
2. Hold special retreat ceremonies and invite guest speakers.
3. Rename an installation street, housing area, training area or range, and post buildings after the Constitution or after an historical figure who played a role in the signing and debates or in the forming of our government under the Constitution. The figure could be from the local area or from the state in which your post is located.

DISPLAY PROJECTS

1. Through the local media, alert the community to military museums and historical buildings in the local area.
2. Encourage the installation library to sponsor and/or set-up special library displays on the Constitution, its signers, historical events surrounding the signing and other historical figures in post, public and school libraries.
3. Organize a display of flags showing the history of the U. S. flag from the Revolutionary War to the present.
4. Make a display using the phrase "to provide for the common defense" as a vehicle in telling the Army's story by showing how and why the Army defends the Constitution in war and peace.

OPEN HOUSE PROJECTS

1. Invite public to visit post for Bicentennial of the Constitution observances via open house or other similar activities. Visitors and local residents can be told of the post's historical significance during the formation of our nation, the Army's role of defending the Constitution to preserve liberties and its present peacetime role.
2. Schedule an on-post family picnic and band concert of Revolutionary War and 18th century American music. Invite the local community and send invitations to civilian aides, local congressional representatives and staffers, public officials, veteran's organizations, Daughters of the American Revolution, local historical groups and historians, and local reenactment groups.
3. Stage a reenactment of the signing of the Constitution. Include a band concert of Revolutionary and 18th century American music, picnic and public speaker. Invite the general public.
4. Schedule a Special Olympics to be held on-post in conjunction with Constitutional observances.

Commemoration Covers Five-Year Period

Each year of the Constitution Bicentennial period has a distinct significance for the Founding of America. The Commission proposes that the celebration of the Bicentennial of the Constitution have five phases, corresponding to the five-year period from 1987 through 1991. The commemoration should be grounded on the historical events of 200 years ago, but the scope of the activities and celebration should include the entire 200 years of the American experience right up to the present. The evolution of the Constitution to meet new needs will be treated.

(1) 1987: "Framing the Constitution." The year 1987 was dedicated to the memory of the Founders and the great document that they drafted in Philadelphia. The anniversary of the Convention's adoption of the Constitution on September 17, 1987, provided fitting ceremonies, both solemn and festive, throughout the Nation. The celebration during 1986 and 1987 was educational, with particular attention to the discussions and debates within the Convention and analysis of the Constitution itself.

(2) 1988: "Ratifying the Constitution." The drafting and signing of the Constitution was only the first step. Ratification, required by nine states, was accomplished in 1788. The national debate over ratification produced *The Federalist* papers. This phase of the celebration focuses on the exciting deliberations presented in *The Federalist* papers, the birthdays of the states as they joined the union, and on the state and local legislators who are veterans of the Armed Forces. The Legislator-Veteran theme is an extension of the Soldier-Statesmen theme.

(3) 1989: "Establishing a Government and National Defense." The year 1789 recognized the convening of the first Congress, the inauguration of George Washington as the first president and the establishment of the United States Supreme Court. This phase focuses on the three branches of government, the establishment of the War Department, and on the veteran-presidents and national legislators.

(4) 1990: "The Judiciary and the Uniform Code of Military Justice." The first session of the United States Supreme Court was held in 1790. This phase focuses on the role of law, specifically the Uniform Code of Military Justice in the United States Armed Forces.

(5) 1991: "The Bill of Rights." The first ten amendments to the Constitution, known as the Bill of Rights, were ratified in 1791. This phase focuses on the ratification of the Bill of Rights and the amendment process which makes the Constitution a "living document."

Chapter 2

CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

FRAMEWORK FOR A NEW NATION

The Articles of Confederation

During the Revolutionary War, the members of the Second Continental Congress continued to hold meetings and to serve in the central government of the colonies. The Congress wanted to establish a simple framework of government for the colonies, which were soon to become states with the adoption of the Declaration of Independence. It appointed a committee in June 1776 to write a plan of confederation for the states. The committee called its plan "The Articles of Confederation." This plan was adopted by the Congress in 1777 and was sent to the states to be ratified by them. When the state of Maryland finally gave its approval in 1781, the Articles of Confederation went into effect.

The Articles of Confederation provided that the states were entering into a "firm league of friendship" and a "perpetual union for the common defense, the security of their liberties, and their mutual and general welfare." A Congress, made up of representatives from the 13 states, was to be the central government for the new United States under the Articles of Confederation.

This was the first step toward a republic.

The Articles of Confederation did not give enough power to the central government.

There was no executive officer to enforce the laws.

The Congress could levy taxes by asking the states for money, but it had no power to make the states pay the money.

The Congress could not control trade between the states.

The Congress had no good way to settle quarrels among the states.

Because of the weaknesses of the Articles of Confederation, the states began to drift apart and to distrust one another. As a result, some of the leading men of the states argued that there must be a stronger central government with enough authority to force the states to obey its laws. The Congress, the only central group representing the 13 states, finally suggested that the states arrange for a convention to change and strengthen the Articles of Confederation

The Constitutional Convention began its meetings in Independence Hall in Philadelphia on May 25, 1787. The convention soon decided that the Articles of Confederation could no longer serve as a framework for the government of the new United States, and that a new constitution would have to be written.

In 1787 the states sent some of their most able leaders to the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia. These great men created one of the most famous and respected documents in the world, the Constitution of the United States. Among the great leaders were:

George Washington, who served as President of the convention through its long meetings. His wisdom and influence guided the delegates and held them together.

Benjamin Franklin, the elderly delegate from Pennsylvania, whose personality and good advice helped to keep the convention running smoothly.

James Madison, a Virginian who knew a great deal about governments and constitutional law. He is said to have written most of the Constitution with the able help of Gouverneur Morris, James Wilson, and Alexander Hamilton.

Alexander Hamilton, of New York, who was a student of finance and government. Although Hamilton opposed some of the ideas and provisions of the Constitution, he worked almost without sleep to have it adopted.

James Wilson, who was sent by Pennsylvania to the convention, was an authority in political and legal matters.

Gouverneur Morris, from Pennsylvania, who became responsible for the final wording of the Constitution because of his keen mind and ability to write.

These men and the other 49 delegates decided that everything which had been said and written at the convention should be kept secret until the Constitution was completed. Each delegate tried to represent the wishes of the people who had sent him to the convention and, at the same time, work for the good of all the people. All through the hot summer there were stormy debates, but these wise men learned to compromise.

Objectives of Constitution

The Preamble to the Constitution, in 52 words, stated the purposes and objectives of the new union of the states under the Constitution. The passing years have created many new needs which, in turn, have required changes to be made in the law. The writers of the Constitution provided a way in which these changes could be made. Such changes are called amendments. However, the purposes of our Constitution and the government it established have not changed.

Constitution of the United States of America

Preamble

We the People of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

In these first words, the Preamble to the Constitution clearly states that the supreme power of government is in the hands of "We the People." Nearly every word in this opening paragraph of the Constitution expresses an important idea. It is well worth studying.

The delegates also found it necessary to write into the Constitution certain new ideas of government to assure that the aims and goals set forth in the Preamble would be reached.

The new Constitution provided for three branches of government:

The legislative branch, called Congress, which makes the laws,

The executive branch, headed by a President, which enforces the laws, and

The judicial branch, which is the system of courts and judges, that explains the laws.

The Constitution provided that the legislative branch would have two Houses, the House of Representatives and the Senate. Members of the House of Representatives were to be elected according to population. As a result, a state with more people would have more members in the House than would a state with fewer people, and it would, therefore, have greater power. In the Senate each state would have two Senators—each state would have equal power. Each Body, however, would have equal rights in making the laws.

The new Congress would have authority to make laws governing all matters of national interest. It would have power to levy and collect taxes, regulate interstate and foreign commerce, spend money for common defense, and spend money for the general welfare. These were matters which would be of interest to all the states as a nation.

Each of the young 13 states would have to share much of its power with the new United States of America.

Checks and Balances in the Constitution

The delegates created a Constitution which was strong enough to bind the states together as a nation but which also left power in the hands of the people.

By dividing power among three branches of government,
    no one branch could control the government.
By having two Houses in Congress,
    no single group could make the laws.
By having the members of the House of Representatives elected according to the population of a state, the larger states would have more power in the House.

By having two Senators elected from each state,
    each state would have equal representation and power in the Senate.

By having a President with power to veto laws of Congress,
unwise laws would be sent back to Congress to be studied again.
By creating the Supreme Court with final authority in law,
the will of one high court would be final,
rather than the clashing wills of the 13 states.

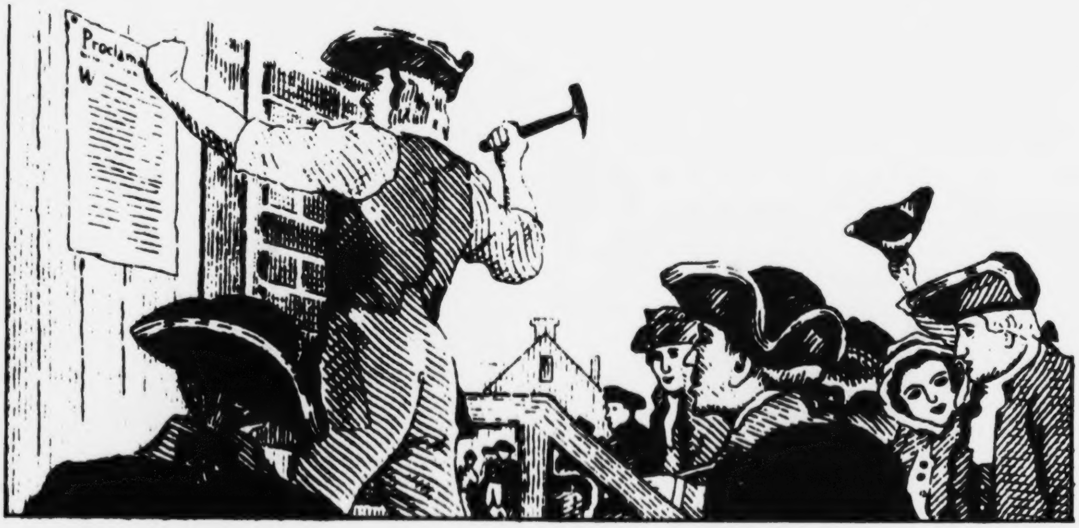
These are some of the checks and balances which were carefully written into the Constitution.

Signing and Ratifying the Constitution

Their work finally completed, on September 17, 1787, the delegates signed the Constitution. Of the 55 delegates attending the convention, only 39 actually signed the Constitution. It then had to be sent to the 13 states to be ratified by delegates selected by the people. Approved by nine states was necessary before it would become the law of the land.

Before the end of June 1788, nine states had ratified the Constitution. Some states felt that it was incomplete because it did not protect all the rights and freedoms of individuals. When these states were promised that the Constitution would be amended to protect these rights, they accepted the document. The two large states of Virginia and New York at first were undecided. By the end of July 1788, however, these states approved the Constitution. North Carolina ratified it in November 1789, and Rhode Island followed with its approval in the spring of 1790.

The United States of America began to function under the Constitution in 1789. It was the first country in the world which began life with a written Constitution assuring freedom to each of its citizens.



MT. VERNON AND ANNAPOLIS CONVENTIONS

The U.S. Constitution had its beginning during a small disagreement between the states of Maryland and Virginia over the use of the waterways they commonly shared. Both had claimed the right of jurisdiction and navigation of the Potomac and Pokemoke rivers, and the Chesapeake Bay. Under the Articles of Confederation, Congress lacked the power to control and regulate commerce, both nationally and internationally, and could not step in to solve commercial problems between states. These commercial matters led to the calling of the Constitutional Convention by way of two conferences held in both states.

The Mt. Vernon Conference, held between March 25-28, 1785, began at Alexandria, Va. and ended at George Washington's plantation, Mt. Vernon. The conference ended with Maryland and Virginia agreeing on the maritime use of the Chesapeake, fishing and harbor rights, criminal jurisdiction, import duties and other matters.

The success of this cooperation was so great that Virginia invited all the other states to another conference. The focus was to be on domestic and foreign trade and drafting recommendations for their improvement. The conference site selected was Annapolis, Md.

The Annapolis Conference was held during September 11-14, 1786. Delegates from New York, New Jersey, Delaware, Pennsylvania and Virginia met at the Maryland State House. North Carolina, Massachusetts, Rhode Island and New Hampshire sent delegates, but they did not arrive on time.

The small attendance made discussions on commercial matters useless. However, James Madison and Alexander Hamilton convinced the conference members to exceed their original purpose and call for a national convention to amend and revise the Articles of Confederation. They proposed that all the States and the Continental Congress approve another conference to be held in May, 1787 at Philadelphia.

The Annapolis Convention Report was delivered to Congress on September 20, 1786. On February 21, 1787, Congress passed a resolution calling for the new convention to be held in May at Philadelphia.

MIRACLE AT PHILADELPHIA

When representatives of 12 states gathered in Philadelphia in May 1787, they were not there to write a new Constitution. The fact that they did has been called the miracle at Philadelphia.

Ever since the colonies had achieved independence the fledgling country had been held together by the Articles of Confederation written in 1777, while the War for Independence still raged. The one thing the colonies didn't want was the establishment of a new monarchy in America.

They were jealous of their sovereignty, so much so that when the Articles of Confederation were written, they were written more like a trade agreement.

Three years after the Articles were written there were calls for a stronger central government. Problems of depending upon individual states to provide troops, clothing, food and money became more and more evident. The need for a single governing entity was obvious to certain Americans.

Alexander Hamilton of New York was one of those to call for a new Constitution in 1780. Hamilton was only 23 years old when he first proposed a convention to rewrite the Articles, but his words fell on deaf ears. It wasn't until six years later, when problems of interstate trade had become unbearable for some of the states, that a meeting was held to discuss that issue.

The meeting in Annapolis, Maryland, in September 1786, saw 12 delegates from five states (Delaware, Pennsylvania, Virginia, New York, New Jersey) gather to talk trade.

What evolved was a resolution calling on all 13 states to send delegates to Philadelphia in May 1787, to amend the Articles with regard to some weaknesses. And that resolution led to the gathering that wrote the Constitution – the document whose Bicentennial we celebrate in 1987.

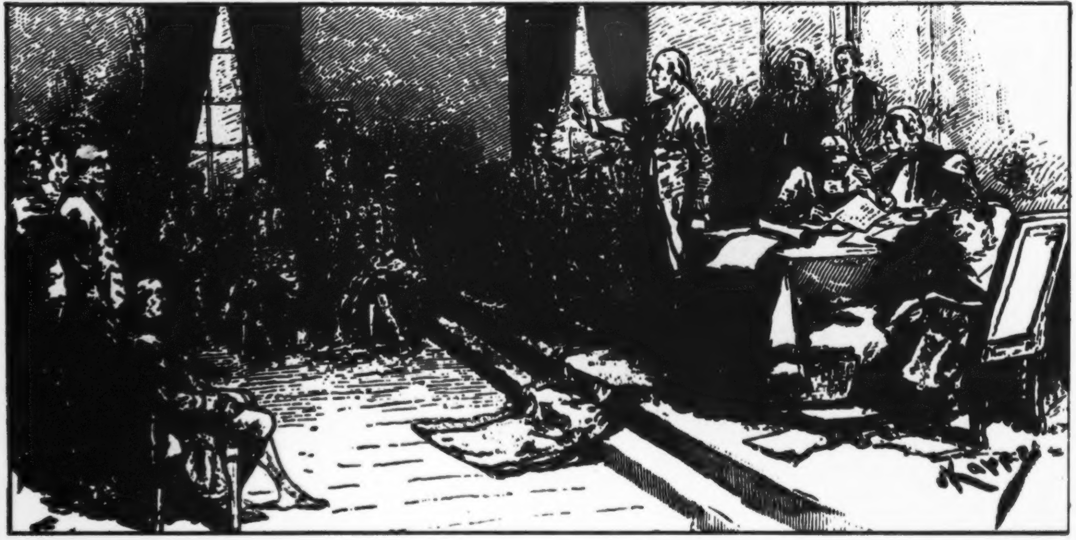
SEPARATING CHURCH AND STATE

Most of those at the Constitutional Convention were aware that America's earliest beginnings could be traced to a people seeking religious freedom. More than one person came to America to escape religious oppression in Europe, and more than one person moved from one colony to another for the same reason. No less a person than Benjamin Franklin desired each session of the Convention begin with a spoken prayer. The idea was voted down, however, for three reasons: the delegates feared an opening prayer might give the impression of dissention within the Convention; they didn't want to offend the Quakers – who believed in silent, personal prayer, – and they lacked funds to pay guest preachers.

An even bigger debate arose over the proposal to require religious qualifications for all public office holders. This may seem ludicrous today, but it was the rule rather than the exception back in 1787.

At the time of the writing of the Constitution, only two states – New York and Virginia – did not have religious qualifications for state office holders. In New Jersey, New Hampshire, South Carolina and Georgia, a person had to be a Protestant to run for public office. Maryland and Massachusetts stipulated a person had to be of the "Christian religion" to run. Pennsylvania demanded that a person have a "belief in God and the inspiration of the Scriptures," while Delaware mandated that only "Protestants who accepted the Holy Trinity" could serve in the legislature.

Despite these sentiments, an anti-religious requirement resolution by Charles Pinckney – a Convention delegate from South Carolina – was adopted by the Convention. There were fears, however, among the delegates that such a resolution would not be accepted by the state legislatures when it came time to ratify the new Constitution. These arguments were overcome, and eventually the Bill of Rights, guaranteeing religious freedom to all, was added to the Constitution in 1791.



NATIONAL CONDITIONS UNDER THE ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION

- Congress could not raise or support a sizable army or navy.
- Border disputes broke out between states. Pennsylvania and Virginia quarrelled over the Pittsburgh area. Connecticut settlers were driven from the Wyoming Valley in Pennsylvania.
- Settlers in Tennessee and North Carolina organized the free state of Franklin and elected a governor. This secessionist movement did not last long.
- Vermont blackmailed Congress into granting it statehood by holding secret talks with Canada for annexation. Vermont received the statehood after the Constitution was ratified.

SHAYS' REBELLION

Shays' Rebellion took place in western Massachusetts during 1786 and early 1787. It was caused by large debts, hard times and high taxes imposed by Massachusetts on farmers. When farmers tried to petition the government for relief, and no help came, they rebelled. They forced the courts to close down and a former revolutionary captain, Daniel Shays, now a farmer, organized an armed resistance. The state militia was called out and after a minor skirmish, the rebels dispersed.

The rebellion proved to the nation that something had to be done to save the ideals of the Revolution, and that the republican government was on the road to collapse.

WHO'S WHO AMONG DELEGATES

An overview of delegates shows their experience in politics as extensive: 41 had served in Congress, 26 were state legislators, 14 were state judges or attorneys, 13 had experience in state constitutional conventions and seven had been state governors.

Overall, the delegates were men of money and property: 40 were holders of government securities, 24 were the chief creditors of their communities, 15 were slaveholders, 11 represented shipping and manufacturing, 28 were lawyers, nine were planters, six were financiers, four were medical doctors and four were public officials.

Their educational backgrounds were very wide-spread: 26 studied at Yale, Harvard, Princeton, William and Mary, King's College (Columbia) and the College of Philadelphia (Pennsylvania). Eleven went to British universities, seven had private tutors and seven got as far as grammar school.

OATH OF SECRECY

All the delegates adopted an oath of secrecy which prohibited the speaking, printing or publishing of anything spoken during the debates. The windows were nailed shut and guards were posted at the doors. Ben Franklin, 81 at the time, had delegates assigned to accompany him whenever he went to any taverns. It was feared that this most talkative, but respected man, would say more than he should about what was being debated at the Convention. James Madison stated in 1830 that the Constitution would have never been framed or ratified if the convention held its sessions in public.

BEN FRANKLIN

Ben Franklin did not take an active role in debates and discussions. His influence upon the convention was that of a mediator, philosopher and counselor. During heated debates or when it seemed the convention was going to breakdown, he would cautiously remind the delegates of why they were there. Because of his advanced age, Franklin was carried to many of the meetings in his sedan chair by prisoners from the city jail.

PHILADELPHIA IN 1787

Philadelphia, founded in 1682, was the American hub of commerce, science, medicine and culture, and boasted a population of 40,000. The city, largest in the United States at the time, had a cosmopolitan flair with people from all walks of life living or visiting there. The main streets were paved and sidewalks were made of brick and lighted at night. They were also cleaned by the prisoners from the city jail. There were 500 hand pumps around the city that provided water to the residents. The downtown area bustled with tradesmen providing goods and services, and farmers selling harvested crops. By 11 o'clock at night most of the city was asleep, and left to the watchmen who walked the streets announcing the time and weather every hour.

The city did suffer urban sprawl. There were narrow alleys, crowded houses, poor residents suffered sanitation problems and the air was thick with flies and other insects that fed on the accumulated trash and hapless residents.

NORTHWEST ORDINANCE

Congress' major accomplishment during the Confederacy years was the adoption of the Northwest Ordinance on July 13, 1787, while the Constitutional Convention was meeting. The Ordinance opened vast areas of land, west and north of the Ohio River to the Mississippi River, for survey and sale. The Ordinance provided the areas self- government, a bill of rights, a prohibition of slavery and eventual statehood. This was just the beginning of America's expansion west and the "manifest destiny" doctrine.

PRINTING THE CONSTITUTION

The drafts and final copies of the Constitution for the delegates were printed by the publishing house of Dunlap & Claypool. The firm was headed by John Dunlap and David C. Claypool and had been the printers for Congress since 1775. It was this firm that printed the Declaration of Independence

There were 1320 copies of the Constitution printed at a cost of $420 (no known figure to convert into today's dollar). Only 500 of these were final copies, the rest were draft copies and copies edited in the final days of the convention. Today, at last report, there are only 8 or 9 copies of the original Dunlap & Claypool printings.

JAMES MADISON: "FATHER OF THE CONSTITUTION"

James Madison presented his plan for the new framework of government in the opening sessions of the Convention. He called for scrapping the Articles of Confederation. In its place he proposed a strong national government based upon popular support. Madison did not personally present the plan himself, rather he asked Governor Edmund Randolph of Virginia to present it. The plan was called the "Virginia Plan," even though some delegates knew it was Madison's brainchild. The plan became the basic foundation for our Constitution and is the reason why Madison has become known as the "Father of the Constitution." Madison was not a lawyer. He had studied languages, histories of ancient states, philosophy and religion.

THE PREAMBLE

The task of writing the Constitution fell upon the Committee of Style, which consisted of William Samuel Johnson, Gouverneur Morris, Hamilton, Madison and Rufus King. When they received the draft from the Committee of Detail, The Preamble began; 'We the people of the states of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations,...(names of the other 13 states), do ordain, declare and establish the following Constitution for the Government of Ourselves and our Posterity." Morris, not knowing what states would in fact ratify the document, changed the wording. His version more aptly reflected the real purpose of the Constitution, that of the people being the source of authority. His rewording stated:

> WE THE PEOPLE of the United States, In order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this CONSTITUTION for the United States of America.

PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENT

The convention originally proposed that the president serve a term of seven years. Alexander Hamilton suggested that the president serve a life-time term based upon good behavior. It was also proposed that the vice-president be the presidential candidate that received the second largest number of electoral votes.

MAKE OR DECLARE WAR

The term "to make war" was the wording originally suggested for the power given to Congress. This was changed to read "to declare war" so the president could react to an invasion or surprise attack without the approval of Congress. And Congress would not bear the responsibility for commanding the armed forces in time of war.

TO PROVIDE FOR THE COMMON DEFENSE

At the end of the American Revolution, Congress directed Gen. Washington to disband the Continental Army. He released all but 600 men who would guard West Point and other posts. Prior to this, grumblings among officers were heard regarding unsettled pay accounts. Rumors grew that they would start taking matters into their own hands and not lay down their arms when the war ended. Gen. Washington quelled the tension by interceding and getting Congress to settle all accounts.

It was these demands and threats that haunted the framers and ratifiers of the 1787 Constitutional Convention when discussions centered on establishing an army. They feared that a standing peacetime army could force its will upon the states and become a source of tyranny. Other concerns were that officers would use their power for personal gain, and maintaining the army would be expensive. The greatest problem was that many people were highly suspicious of a strong central government that had a standing army at its disposal. They felt the power—and the control of that power—was too great to leave in the hands of a central government.

Many of the delegates favored the use of state militias as a means of defense and keeping the peace. As a compromise to the standing army issue, the convention gave Congress the right to form and maintain an army by allowing it to "provide for the common defense" of the United States. This is regulated through the system of checks and balances that are built into our Constitution. The document also gave Congress the power to call up the state militias "to execute the Laws of the Union, suppress Insurrections and repel Invasions.'

THE RIGHT TO DECLARE WAR

The question of who has the right to declare war was a matter of heated debate during the Constitutional Convention. The power to make war, or peace, is the most important decision a country can make regarding its foreign policy. Before the eventual ratification of the Constitution, U.S. foreign policy had no firm central control. The Articles of Confederation reserved correction of national foreign affairs to the Continental Congress, but were so weak that many states freely dabbled in specific issues, particulaly economic ones. This usually resulted in violations of national treaties, disunity, and some forms of foreign aggression.

Discussions centered around giving the right to either the president, who was the commander-in-chief, or to the Senate. Some felt the president should have the power, since the executive or king in other countries has that right. This caused the argument that in a republic the executive should never have the sole power to declare war.

The delegates that favored the Senate believed that since the Senate already had to confirm treaties, it should have the right to declare war. This was countered with the argument that a body that can decide on treaty ratification should not have the same right to declare war without careful deliberations from all involved. It was also feared that placing this right onto either the executive or the Senate, or both, would separate the people from this decision-making process.

After lively debates on these issues, the framers voted that the right to declare war would be placed squarely upon the Congress and the conduct of war would fall on the presidency.

FOUR DAYS FROM MT. VERNON TO PHILADELPHIA

In these days of high speed travel by car, bus, plane or train, it is hard for us to understand the trouble created by the conditions of travel in the 18th Century. Horseback and carriage were the norm, and these modes of travel caused more than one man to arrive late in Philadelphia that summer of 1787 to write the new Constitution.

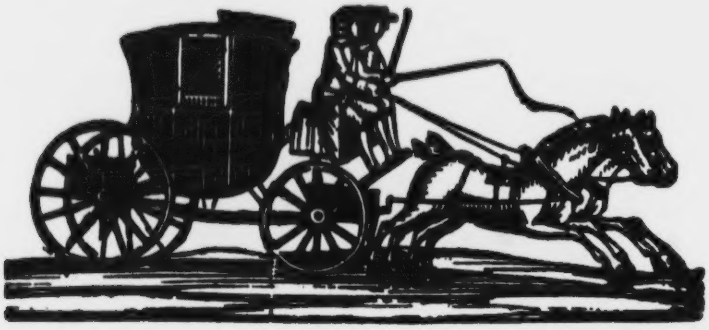
The gathering, which became known as the Constitutional Convention, was supposed to begin on May 14, 1787. In September of 1786, representatives of five states, meeting in Annapolis, Maryland, had requested a national (13 state) meeting to rework portions of the Articles of Confederation.

The national meeting was mandated by the Continental Congress only to make revisions on the Articles. As we now know, they went further than that.

George Washington, the hero of the American Revolution, was selected as one of Virginia's 10 delegates. Leaving his estate – Mt. Vernon – on the banks of the Potomac River on May 9, Washington did not arrive in Philadelphia until four days later.

The man who led the fight for independence was accorded the hero's welcome he deserved. General Washington at first secured a room at Mrs. House's, one of the city's more select rooming houses, but moved into the home of Robert Morris, himself a delegate to the Convention, at the invitation of the Morris family.

Actually, George Washington's trip was a comparatively easy one. Except for those delegates from Philadelphia, or close by, trips of three to four weeks were not uncommon. As a result, when it came time to convene the Convention on May 14, 1787, it was formally noted that a quorum was not yet present. In fact, it wasn't until 11 days later, May 25, when the South Carolina delegation and two New Jersey delegates arrived that a quorum was achieved, and the work at hand could begin.



WRITING THE CONSTITUTION

When Americans think of the events that brought independence from England, they immediately picture incidents taking place in New England – the Boston Tea Party, the Boston Massacre, Paul Revere's Ride, Lexington and Concord, Bunker Hill. It is logical to assume, therefore, that New England also took the lead when it came time to write a Constitution for the new United States of America. Such, however, was not the case.

The 13 former colonies – now states – were not all that united in the years immediately following independence. They were bound loosely to each other by the Articles of Confederation, which read more like a trade agreement among nations than a unifying document of neighbors.

When the Constitutional Convention finally opened in May 1787, in Philadelphia, only seven of the 13 states were represented, even though all had been asked to send delegates (In fact, Rhode Island would send no delegates at all). Three New England states – Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Connecticut – were represented by just one man, Rufus King of Massachusetts.

Even after the Convention met for the first time, and had chosen George Washington of Virginia as presiding officer, King alone was present from New England. He quickly dispatched a note (or as quickly as travel conditions of the time would permit) to Jeremiah Wadsworth – a good friend in Connecticut – saying the situation was quite embarrassing and urging other New England delegates to hasten to Philadelphia.

Eventually, others would arrive from New England and elsewhere. But for the time being, the chagrined King was the only delegate from the "Cradle of Democracy."

LESSON LEARNED IN THE REVOLUTION

Since both militia and Continentals played roles in winning the war, the Revolutionary experience provided ammunition for two diametrically opposed schools of thought on American military policy: the one advocating a large Regular Army, the other reliance on the militia as the bulwark of national defense. The real issue, as Washington fully recognized, was less militia versus Regulars – for he never believed the infant republic needed a large standing army – than the extent to which militia could be trained and organized to form a reliable national reserve. The lesson Washington drew from the Revolution was that the militia should be "well regulated," that is, trained and organized under a uniform national system in all the states and subject to call into national service in war or emergency.

The lesson had far greater implications for the future than any of the tactical changes wrought by the American Revolution. It balanced the rights of freedom and equality, proclaimed in the Declaration of Independence, with a corresponding obligation of all citizens for military service to the nation. This concept, which was to find explicit expression in the "nation in arms" during the French Revolution, was also implicit in the American, and it portended the end of eighteenth century limited war, fought by professional armies officered by an aristocratic class. As Steuben so well recognized, American Continentals were not professional soldiers in the European sense, and militia even less so. They were, instead, a people's army fighting for a cause. In this sense then, the American Revolution began the "democratization of war," a process that was eventually to lead to national conscription and a new concept of total war for total victory.

Revolutionary War soldiers. Library of Congress.

RATIFICATION BY STATES

Delaware	December 7, 1787
Pennsylvania	December 12, 1787
New Jersey	December 18, 1787
Georgia	January 2, 1788
Connecticut	January 9, 1788
Massachusetts	February 6, 1788
Maryland	April 28, 1788
South Carolina	May 23, 1788
New Hampshire	June 21, 1788
Virginia	June 16, 1788
New York	July 26, 1788
North Carolina	November 21, 1789
Rhode Island	May 29, 1790

Chapter 3

YEARS OF INFANCY

THE FEDERALIST PAPERS

The ratification of the Constitution faced considerable ideological debate, both pro and con, among the states. Two groups, the Federalists and Anti-Federalists, were the main players who took the stage during these debates. The Federalists wanted adoption. They favored a strong national government that served the interests of the public. They included such members as James Madison, Alexander Hamilton and John Jay.

The Anti-Federalists did not want adoption, because they felt the Constitution gave too much power to the federal government. They felt power could be exercised better by the states, who were closer to the public and therefore safer. Their ranks included George Mason and Patrick Henry of Virginia and Luther Martin of Maryland.

Soon after the signing, the 'Anti's' bombarded the public with newspaper articles, mass meetings and pamphlets criticizing and challenging the idea of a federal republic. They feared a creation of a permanent aristocracy, criticized the lack of a bill of rights, and complained that power would lie with the few, instead of the many.

The Federalists countered these charges by defending the Constitution in a series of letters printed in New York newspapers, entitled "The Federalist." Written under the pseudonym, "Publius," 85 letters appeared between October 1787 to May 1788. These defenders of the proposed Constitution were: Alexander Hamilton, 51 letters; James Madison, 29 letters; and John Jay, five letters.

The aim of The Federalist was to show that a return to the confederation would again lead to disunity and ineffective central government. They set out to prove that the Constitution would create a government that would preserve civil liberties and look after the various and differing interests of the 13 states. They stressed that the system of checks and balances, representation of the people, and the courts would improve the vision of the popular system of government. Argument was met with counter-argument but when all was said and done the constitution was finally ratified.

Upon ratification, the Federalists immediately took up some of the questions and complaints raised by the Anti-Federalists. During the first session of Congress, Madison proposed and drafted a bill of rights. After more than 200 separate amendments offered by state ratifying conventions, only 10 were adopted. Madison's greatest legacy, The Bill of Rights, was added to the Constitution.

BILL OF RIGHTS

Twelve amendments were proposed to the states by Congress on September 25, 1789. The first 10 were ratified by 11 of 14 states on December 15, 1791. The states of Massachusetts, Georgia and Connecticut ratified them in 1939, the 150th anniversary of its submission to the 13 states. The Bill of Rights was accepted by the President on December 30, 1791.

The first amendment covers the right of freedom of expression, religion, speech, assembly and petition. Amendments two through four guarantee the right to bear arms, disallow quartering of troops in homes without the consent of the owner, and bar unreasonable search and seizure.

Amendments five, six, and eight protect citizens against arbitrary arrest, trial and punishment. They also prevent "double jeopardy," self incrimination and deny deprivation of "life, liberty or property without due process of law." The seventh amendment guarantees the right of a jury trial in all civil cases.

The ninth amendment says the rights in the Constitution will not be denied to citizens of the United States. The tenth reserves powers not delegated to the federal government to the states and the people.

WAR POWERS AUTHORITY AND PRESIDENT WASHINGTON

Upon Washington's inauguration, the United States faced the gaps left in the Constitution concerning the war powers authority. The country faced such questions as:

-- During a revolt, does the president appear in the field or stay at the seat of government?

-- Can he grant pardons in order to bring a quick end to the revolt?

-- Can the president wage war on Indians without the consent of Congress?

-- What relationship does the president have with the House and Senate in treaty making?

During his eight years as president, Washington provided a collection of precedents on these and other questions. He controlled American communication with foreign governments and determined the when and how of treaty negotiations. He established the beginnings of American military policy but always kept in mind the concerns of Congress. There were times when he chose to fight without seeking the consent of Congress, such as the Northwest Indian Wars of the 1790s and the Whiskey Rebellion of 1794.

The size of the Army grew during his presidency from 840, when he took office, to 7,108 when he left. Congress gave the office sweeping powers in matters of military and foreign policy. During his eight years in office under the Constitution, the war powers were split between the executive and legislative branches much like it is today. These divided powers are not similar to those sketched out by the framers of 1787 Constitutional Convention who were mostly concerned with the division of powers between the state and federal levels, not congressional and executive levels.

THE WHISKEY REBELLION: FIRST TEST OF FEDERAL POWER

The Whiskey Rebellion of 1794 was the first test of the federal government's power to impose a tax. In 1791, Alexander Hamilton imposed an excise tax on stills and distilled liquors to help pay off America's huge war debt. Farmers, west of the Appalachian Mountains, grew grain and the costs to transport it were very high. To ease those costs, the farmers made whiskey which they used as a form of currency to buy necessities to survive. In western Pennsylvania the tax hit farmers very hard-a quarter of their small profits was in the sale of liquor. In fact it was their only exportable product.

In Washington County, the farmers decided they were not going to pay the tax. There were many attempts by the farmers to petition and protest the excise tax, but there was no response by the federal government. Soon outbreaks of violence and rioting occurred. President Washington, fearing lack of popular support, was very reluctant to use force to compel the farmers to pay the tax. By August 1794, 5,000 whiskey-makers were assembled outside Pittsburgh protesting the tax, with a majority of the people in the region supporting them.

Washington was faced with a dilemma. Because of the provisions of the Constitution, he could not use troops unless the state requested them. To nationalize the state militias he had to have a federal judge rule that the court system was not able to rectify the problem.

Eventually, Washington received a request for help from the state of Pennsylvania and a certification from a federal judge that the situation was beyond the control of the courts. In September he called out militia to put down the revolt. With 12,800 men, Gen. "Light-Horse Harry" Lee marched into Washington County to end the revolt. The Army met with no resistance and leaders of the rebellion simply disappeared into Ohio. Lee pardoned all the rebels, except for 51. Only two of them were convicted of treason, and they were granted pardons by President Washington.

As a result, the principle of federal supremacy was upheld. The federal government had shown that it could enforce laws passed by Congress, even to the point of using troops.

COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF IN THE FIELD

President Washington was the only commander-in-chief to appear in the field with United States troops. During the Whiskey Rebellion of 1794, Washington accompanied the national army, using both his presence and pardon power to end the revolt. He went with the troops as far as Cumberland, Md., before turning over his command to Gen. "Light-Horse Harry" Lee. By this action, Washington set a precedent as Commander-in-Chief and President. He turned over the actual command of the army to his military generals, even though the Constitution gave him military power. His reason was that many Americans feared the military powers given the President and by using this power, the president could use it to become a despot. Washington set an example to all those that would follow in maintaining an equal balance between the military and civilian administration.

THE UNITED STATES AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS FROM 1793 TO 1803

In 1793 war broke out in Europe between the new citizen government of France and the countries of Spain and Great Britain. At the time, the United States had a military treaty with France that had been agreed upon during the War for Independence. President Washington proclaimed American neutrality in 1793. He did not want to embroil the fledgling country in an international war which could have grave consequences on the independence gained 10 years before. The following year Congress passed the Neutrality Act which prohibited American citizens from participating in the war and forbade the use of American soil as a base of operations for any of the warring nations.

This neutrality was challenged by the minister from France, Edmond Genet. He planned to arouse the sympathy of the American public, outfit French ships in American ports, authorize American ships to act as French privateers and commission an American to lead an expedition to the Spanish colonial city of New Orleans. But changes in the ruling power in France forced Genet to cancel his plans. In fear of his life, he sought asylum in the United States.

At the beginning of the war, Great Britain imposed a blockade on American shipping trade with France and seized about 300 American ships in the area of the French West Indies. In Canada, the Governor-General gave warlike speeches to the Indian tribes of the Northwest. Talk of another war with the British became a topic discussed throughout the country. Hamiliton, fearing the loss of sorely needed revenue from British imports, persuaded Washington to send Chief Justice John Jay to Great Britain on a peace-keeping mission. Jay was instructed to seek payment for American ships seized, the withdrawal of British forces from frontier posts and a trade agreement that would not offend the French.

Jay's Treaty was signed in 1794 but with it came bitter denouncements of Jay and the treaty throughout the country. According to the treaty, the United States would agree to pay all Pre-Revolutionary War debts still owed to British creditors. This incensed many Americans. However, the British agreed to withdraw all their forces from the posts bordering the Northwest Territory and commercial trade was established to the satisfaction of both the United States and Great Britain. Most of all the treaty averted a possible ruinous war and settled differences with Spain over the use of the Mississippi River and New Orleans.

Before the treaty was signed, Spain was in the process of siding with France in the war. But when it was signed Spain perceived that the British and Americans would jointly attack its possessions in North America. It was then that Pinckney's Treaty of 1795 was signed between Spain and the United States. In it, Spain gave Americans the right to navigate the Mississippi River to its mouth at New Orleans so as to load and off-load goods from ships in New Orleans. It also established a border between the United States and Florida as a barrier to prevent Indians in Florida from attacking across the border into the United States.

After the 1796 Presidential elections, France felt that most Americans supported and sympathized with France. As a result of this perception, France decided to frustrate and weaken the foreign policy of the new Adams administration. They began to seize American shipping, accusing them of trading illegally, and refused to see the American minister. Adams sent a three man peace commission to settle the differences, but three French officials, Messrs. X, Y, and Z, of Foreign Minister Talleyrand refused to negotiate unless France secured an American loan and they were paid a $240,000 bribe. The commissioners responded by saying, "Millions for defense, but not one cent for tribute." President Adams declared that the United States had been insulted and when Congress published the commissioners report of the incident a limited and undelared naval war resulted. This incident is known as the "XYZ Affair." Adams resisted further pressure to expand the war and curtailed U.S. military activities.

In late 1799, the ruling French Directoire was overthrown and Napoleon Bonaparte proclaimed himself Ruler of France. A few months later Napoleon received American peace commissioners and began negotiations which resulted in the Treaty of Morfontaine ending the undeclared war.

In 1800, Napoleon, in a secret treaty with Spain, acquired the port of New Orleans. Through the use of Spanish officials in New Orleans, Napoleon prohibited Americans from depositing their goods for shipment in defiance of Pinckney's Treaty. Newly inaugurated President Thomas Jefferson saw no way out except to buy New Orleans from the French and sent James Monroe to France to negotiate a deal. Unknown to the United States was that Napoleon, seeing extreme difficulties in keeping New Orleans and French claims in North America, was thinking of getting rid of the entire Louisiana Territory. Napoleon felt that it was only a matter of time before Americans would begin overrunning the territory looking for areas to settle.

When Monroe arrived in France and was given the astounding and unexpected offer, he did not know what to do since he did not have the authorization to make such a land deal. After deliberations with his fellow representative, the American minister to France, they decided to accept the offer. President Jefferson accepted the land purchase and in 1803 the size of the United States doubled.

ORIGINS OF THE CONSTITUTION

The seeds of the Constitution were planted more than 550 years before its birth. In 1215, on an English meadow named Runneymede, King John of England was forced to sign The Magna Carta (The Great Charter) by his feudal lords. Though the lords were not interested in obtaining justice for the common people, they did strip the king of some of his authority over their property. The King gave up his power to demand money and services from them without their approval, including those people who were dependent upon the lords. The Charter also promised the right to a trial and prohibited unlawful arrest and seizure.

The Magna Carta became the foundation for the British Constitution. But the British Constitution is not a single document like the U. S. Constitution. Rather it is a collection of laws passed during the ensuing centuries by Parliament and the rulings carried down by English judges which have formed English common-law.

The journey of the Pilgrims on the Mayflower set the next stage in the Constitution's development. Before landing at Plymouth, they drew up an agreement, later called The Mayflower Compact, which called for their self-rule. They agreed to make laws and elect officials to which they were subject to obey.

As the colonies flourished, writing political documents became a standard for Americans. Most notable were the establishment of local governments as long as laws enacted did not contradict English laws, and charters granted by the Crown. Most local governments reflected the notion of popular sovereignty, majority rule, and political equality among citizens.

But the sources of the Constitution can not be looked at as being a collection of documents. There is a deeper and longerlasting influence that crosses the centuries. The civic and moral values of the Roman Republic is the deepest of origins. Latin writers, such as Plutarch, Cicero and Tacitus, wrote about notions of citizenship, social morality and political conduct that have had a profound effect on the Western world.

During the Renaissance, many philosophers and writers wrote on "civic humanism." These writings say that a good citizen must be independent and free of selfish interest influences.

Civic humanism had a profound effect upon 17th century writers as Harrington and Sidney. But it was the writings and philosophies of John Locke, David Hume, Montesquieu and Burlamaqui which affected the mental giants of the American Constitution.

The framers of the Constitution used the ideas of the greatest writers of the age, and the past, to form a piece of writing that shook the political thought of the day, as well as long established monarchies.

FINDING THE CONSTITUTION A HOME

After the Constitution was signed it was sent to Congress in New York for ratification where it remained until Philadelphia became our nation's capitol. When Washington, D.C. was designated as our seat of government in 1800, it was moved there along with the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights.

For 146 years the Constitution was never seen in the public. During those years it was usually kept at various sites within the State Department. In only a few instances was it ever examined; once by John Q. Adams during a political dispute concerning punctuation and once by a historian who used it to prepare a book on the Constitution. Once it was found in a tin box at the bottom of a closet. In 1894, the Constitution, the Bill of Rights and the Declaration were sealed between two glass plates and stored in the basement of the State Department after deterioration was noticed in the Declaration.

In 1921, a Presidential Executive Order directed that the documents should be turned over to the Library of Congress so they may receive expert care and be put on public display. In 1924, the Constitution was finally put on public display there, along with the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights. They remained there until 19 days after the attack on Pearl Harbor when they were moved to the United States Bullion Depository, Fort Knox, Ky., for safe-keeping. On Oct. 1, 1944, they were returned to Washington for public view.

In December 1952, they were moved to their present location at the National Archives, and displayed with other priceless national records. Only the first four pages of the Constitution are usually displayed and only on occasion are the fifth and sixth pages displayed.

When not on display, our Nation's most valuable documents are encased in a bombproof, shockproof, and fireproof vault constructed of steel and reinforced concrete located below the floor of Exhibition Hall.

WHY WE CELEBRATE THE BICENTENNIAL OF THE CONSTITUTION

All during the late spring and hot sweltering summer of 1787, 55 men debated and discussed, and debated again, the future direction of this country. At times, their voices were raised to such a fevered pitch they seemed to overpower the searing afternoon sun and clinging humidity that draped the city of Philadelphia like a heavy woolen blanket. No one within earshot of the State House could have heard the voices resounding through the room for the windows had been nailed shut and guards posted to keep the curious away. Many people knew the group's task was to amend the Articles of Confederation. But, if they had known what the outcome of the Constitutional Convention was to be, they would have put a stop to their discussions.

The 55 men had been called together to revise the Articles of Confederation that had been governing this nation for the past seven years, but what they delivered was a document of unparalleled importance to the nation and the world. So important, that it would be copied for years to come by other nations wishing to adopt democratic principles.

The U.S. Constitution was an idea unlike any the world had ever seen. It was an idea that shook the very foundations of long established monarchies and parliamentary governments throughout the world. But more important, it was an ideal manifested in the right of the people of a nation to have their voices heard in the affairs of that nation.

The will of the people, one people, is what the framers of that 200-year-old yellow parchment had in mind, not the will of the governing authority. This is why they split the government into three branches and gave the sole source of power to the American people. Even more, our will as a people unleashed a free and creative energy that has charged the minds and hearts of the people that make up this culturally diversed country. That energy has provided us with unrestrained thought and communication which has marked our developments in science, technology, the arts, and human relations.

In Democracy in America, Vol. I, Alexis de Tocqueville remarked;

> "It is new...to see a great people turn a calm and scrutinizing eye upon itself...that wheels of government are stopped, to see it carefully examine the extent of the evil...until a remedy is discovered...without costing a tear or a drop of blood from mankind."

It is the self-examination of a system of government that the writers of the Constitution were striving for. This is why we celebrate the Bicentennial of our Constitution. They wrote it so that we may rule ourselves and that we may reap the benefits and liberties that self-rule offers. Their idea is our idea to be kept alive and upheld so that future generations of Americans can have their voices heard in the halls of government.

Source: "How We Should Celebrate the Bicentennial of the Constitution," William J. Bennett, National Forum, Fall 1984, pp. 60-63.

Chapter 4

THE U.S. ARMY OF THE 1780s and '90s

OLDEST MILITIA UNIT

The Nation's oldest Total Force units are found in the Massachusetts Army National Guard. They were formed as three militia regiments in 1636 by the Massachusetts Bay Colony and have remained in continuous service since. They are the: 1st Battalion, 101st Field Artillery; 1st & 2nd Battalions, 181st Infantry ; the 1st Battalion, 182nd Infantry; and the 101st Engineer Battalion. The 181st and 182nd Infantry have the distinction of taking part in the Battle of Lexington.

LINEAGE OF THE ARTILLERY TRACED TO OLDEST REGULAR ARMY UNIT

A single artillery battalion in Today's Army can trace its lineage to a New York battery that defended West Point after the Revolution. The battery was raised as the New York Provincial Company of Artillery in 1776 by Capt. Alexander Hamilton and later joined the Continental Army. It is the only regular formation which was kept intact after the War of Independence. The unit is now designated 1st Battalion, 5th Field Artillery, and forms a part of the 1st Infantry Division, Fort Riley, Kan.

A CAPTAIN IS THE HIGHEST RANKING OFFICER

Captain James Doughty briefly was the highest ranking officer in the U. S. Army after the Revolutionary War. The Continental Army had been disbanded after the war on orders by Congress. Captain Doughty commanded the only existing field artillery unit which defended West Point and was superseded by Lt. Col. Harmar when the First American Regiment was established.

THE FIRST AMERICAN REGIMENT

On 3 June 1784 Congress asked four states to provide men to make up a regiment to protect settlers in the Northwest Territory. Josiah Harmar was appointed commander of the new force and given the rank of Lt. Col. He organized the men into the First American Regiment. It is this regiment that the 3rd U.S. Infantry, the oldest Regular Army infantry unit, can trace its lineage.

MILITARY EXPENDITURES

Military expenditures in 1784 amounted to $297,323.75. In 1787, the total congressional appropriation was $176,757.17. Today, the Army's FY 87 total outlays are estimated to be $78.3 billion.

THE WAR DEPARTMENT

On August 7, 1789, the First Congress created the War Department. General Henry Knox was appointed the first Secretary of War.

BIRTH OF THE U.S. ARMY

Under the Constitution, one of Congress' first acts was to lawfully establish the United States Regular Army. This was done with the Act of September 29, 1789. The actual birthday of the U.S. Army is June 14, 1775 when the Continental Army was created.

ARMY LIFE IN THE NORTHWEST TERRITORY

Army posts were a great distance from each other in the late 1780s and '90s. They were isolated by huge regions of thick forests where bears, panthers and deer were plentiful. But if the soldiers ever feared the wild animals, that fear was overshadowed by the everyday threat of Indian attack or ambush. To go beyond the confines of the fort -- to hunt, fish, chop wood or take care of the crop fields -- was particularly dangerous. Soldiers could be ambushed by waiting Indian war parties. Many officers and men dared not bring their wives or families to these unsettled areas because of these dangers and other hardships they would incur.

It took a long time to get supplies, if they were available at all. Shipments of uniforms were infrequent. Housing usually consisted of log huts for enlisted soldiers who would huddle together to keep warm during the cold months. Officers would share rooms in huts. Pay was low and always late in coming. Serious illness and disease took a heavy toll on lives. Smallpox and pneumonia were the most common.

Forts were typically made of logs with blockhouses in the corners, an ammunition shed, and officer and enlisted quarters. The garrisons would number between 25 to 100 men, drawn from the Regular Army, and on occasion, from state militias.

ARMY POSTS IN THE 1780's

The U. S. Army's three major posts during the 1780's were: West Point, New York; Fort Pitt, what is now Pittsburgh, Penn.; and an arsenal at Springfield, Mass.

In areas of the Northwest territory, there were small forts made of up men from the Regular Army and state militias. These forts existed to protect settlers and keep the peace with local Indian tribes. The forts also represented a small token force of American presence in the region.

NORTHWEST INDIAN WARS

The Northwest Indian Wars were fought between 1790-1795 as a result of the rush of settlers into the regions opened by the Northwest Ordinance of 1787. The Ordinance opened areas north of the Ohio River and west of the Mississippi River for settlement and survey.

The beginning of the campaign was a disaster for the Regular Army and its volunteer force because of the lack of discipline and equipment. The Indians, supported by the British, had already defeated American soldiers twice.

After these repeated failures, President Washington selected General "Mad" Anthony Wayne to command the new thrust into the territory. Under Wayne's stern discipline, the Legion of the United States (as the Army was called then) held off an attack force of 2,000 Indians at Fort Recovery in July 1794. The Indian force withdrew and retreated with Wayne in pursuit several days later. Wayne engaged the enemy at the Battle of Fallen Timbers, causing the Indians to retreat further to the British outpost of Fort Miami. The British, allies of the Indians, closed the gates of the fort on the retreating Indians because they did not wish to start a confrontation with the Americans.

As a result, the war ended with the signing of the Treaty of Greenville in the summer of 1795.

MILITIA ACT OF 1792

The Militia Act of 1792 was the first national law establishing a Regular Milita within each state. Article I, Section 8 of the Constitution granted Congress the right of "organizing, arming and disciplining the militia." The act required all able-bodied men, 18-45 years of age, to enlist in the militia of their home states. Each man was required to supply his own musket, bayonet, belt and cartridges. The Act created the long and proud history of the Reserve and National Guard.

STANDING PEACETIME ARMY STRENGTH

1784		840
1789		800
1799		15,691
FY 1987 (Actual)		
	Active	780,815
	Reserve	601,107
	National Guard	462,143
	TOTAL	1,844,065
FY 1988 (Estimated)		
	Active	780,900
	Reserve	633,400
	National Guard	469,100
	TOTAL	1,883,400

Chapter 5

WASHINGTON AND MADISON

GEORGE WASHINGTON

Washington Leading His Army.

THE PATRIOT

A younger son in a family of the landed gentry, Washington appeared destined by birth and education to a career as farmer and land surveyor. But the death of his older brother in 1752 abruptly changed his life. It opened the way to his obtaining Mount Vernon, a large plantation on the Potomac, and to his succeeding his brother as one of Virginia's four adjutants responsible for militia training. Sworn in as a major of militia in February 1753, at the age of 21, he volunteered for active duty some ten months later.

Washington entered military service just as the lengthy rivalry for empire between England and France was reaching its climax in America. If the colonists had appeared indifferent to some of the larger aspects of this conflict between traditional European enemies, their desire for expansion and their fear of alliances between the French and the Indians made them increasingly opposed to a continued French presence in North America. Virginia in particular was incensed when the French established a series of forts in the West. Reacting to this threat, Lieutenant Governor Robert Dinwiddie sent the young Washington to deliver an ultimatum to the intruders. When diplomacy failed, Dinwiddie ordered out a force of 300 colonials under Washington to defend English claims to the "Forks of the Ohio," where the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers join to form the Ohio (now Pittsburgh). Washington promptly led his men into what would become the first engagement of the French and Indian War. He won a preliminary skirmish before being captured by superior French forces some 50 miles south of his objective.

Widespread criticism, especially among the English after his release, only seemed to strengthen Washington's resolve. He served as a volunteer aide in 1755 to Major General Edward Braddock when the British sent a large force of regulars to capture Fort Dusquesne, the French stronghold recently erected at the Forks of the Ohio. Although the Braddock expedition met defeat on the banks of the Monongahela, Washington's display of courage and tactical skills in battle caused his personal reputation to soar. A grateful Dinwiddie subsequently placed him in charge of Virginia's frontier defenses. He commanded the colony's regiments and separate ranger companies (both perpetuated in today's 116th Infantry, Virginia Army National Guard), as well as its mobilized militiamen. In 1758 Washington became a brigade commander, the only American to achieve that rank during the war.

The French and Indian War served as a training ground for the leaders of the American Revolution. From his experiences in the field Washington came to understand the key role played by discipline, "the soul of an army," as he later called it. He also learned that tactics and formations had to be adapted to terrain. Perhaps most important for his future, he came to realize that the able leader pays close attention to administrative detail, learns how to make do with limited resources, and seeks to foster the welfare of his men.

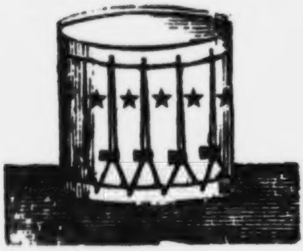
Resigning his commission in 1758, Washington devoted the next fifteen years to his expanding agricultural enterprises. He also began to acquire political skills, emerging as a moderate leader of the opposition to English colonial policy. By 1774, however, Virginia's opposition to the mother country had hardened, and Washington, always loyal to his colony, joined in supporting the revolutionaries. He accepted the leadership of the volunteer militia and represented Virginia in the Continental Congress.

THE SOLDIER

The Continental Congress quickly took advantage of Washington's military experience. Following the fighting at Lexington and Concord, it appointed him to various committees handling military matters, and on 15 June 1775 his fellow delegates unanimously elected him "General and Commander in Chief" of all Continental forces. Washington accepted the assignment only out of a profound sense of duty, refusing any salary. For eight years, the longest American war before Vietnam, he led the main elements of the Continental Army in combat while also carrying out the broader responsibilities of the Revolution's senior military officer.

The two sides adopted different strategies in the war. The English concentrated on occupying urban centers and seeking set battles. Washington put his emphasis on preserving his forces, believing the Revolution could succeed only if he kept his Army intact. He therefore bided his time, avoiding major defeats and acting decisively when the chance for surprise arose. Trenton and Princeton, in the winter of 1776, were memorable victories in a bleak campaign. In 1777 General Horatio Gates won the battle of Saratoga, and France entered the war on the American side, thus offering Washington the prospect of an allied offensive. In the interim, he employed his main force to neutralize the English army in New York, while nibbling away at the enemy's strength and resolve in other areas, principally in the South. When French naval superiority off the Virginia Capes offered the opportunity for victory, Washington struck swiftly, defeating the British at Yorktown in 1781.

Washington had overcome massive obstacles in pursuing this strategy. After organizing and training the Army, he had met the challenge of holding it together as a professional fighting force during the dark days of defeat. At the same time, he had to placate a demanding Congress and jealous state governments, improvise to offset shortages in material support, curb his sometimes impulsive subordinate commanders, and deal with allies. Only a soldier endowed with extraordinary foresight, personal integrity, and self-discipline could have provided the necessary leadership. The claim can be made that without Washington the Revolution would not have succeeded.



At war's end, Washington promptly dismantled his victorious Army and once again became a private citizen. These actions astounded European observers, who fully expected the victorious general to seize power in the independent but unorganized colonies. Such assessments overlooked Washington's strong belief in the subordination of the military to civilian authority. He had made his position clear in March 1783 when a petition urging the Army to force Congress to restore back pay had circulated among the officers at Newburgh, New York. Washington recalled his own sacrifices in the service of his country and reminded his officers that their loyalty should be to their country, not to the Army. To dramatize the point, he fumbled through the first paragraph of his prepared remarks, donned glasses, and commented that not only had he grown gray in the service of his country but now he was also going blind. He then proceeded to denounce the petition as treason. The chastized officers meekly dispersed.

THE STATESMAN

Washington, his personal finances in shambles, returned to Mount Vernon in 1783 to resume his agricultural and business interests. But his absence from public life proved brief. The course of government under the Articles of Confederation convinced him that a stronger central authority was essential if the political and economic promises of independence were to be realized. His active participation in the drive for a stronger union of the thirteen states sprang in part from his fascination with the potential of the West, an interest born during his youthful days as a surveyor in the Shenandoah Valley and as an officer in the French and Indian War. To promote the development of the Potomac River Valley, he hosted a conference between officials from Virginia and Maryland at Mount Vernon in 1785.

This meeting led to a convention in Annapolis the next year and, finally, to the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia in 1787.

The delegates unanimously elected Washington president of the Constitutional Convention. He proved uniquely suited to the task, his presence lending prestige and dignity to the proceedings. He also served as an important unifying force in the deliberations. Under his judicious guidance the Convention reached the many compromises necessary to achieve a more perfect union and wrote the provisions that would provide for a strong central government. Ratification of the Constitution led in time to Washington's inauguration as President in New York City in April 1789.

Once in office, Washington tried to transform the promises of the Revolution and the Constitution into realities. Applying experiences gained in commanding the Continental Army, he set about the task of organizing and molding a new central government. With quiet authority, he balanced the competing factions coalescing around two of his subordinates, Thomas Jefferson and Alexander Hamilton. He dealt with the demands of the Congress with typical restraint, respecting its legislative prerogatives but never hesitating to exercise his presidential powers. In foreign affairs he insisted on strict neutrality in the continuing Anglo-French conflict; in economic matters he supported measures to strengthen the stability of the new nation. He secured the West through military actions and international treaties. He also jealously defended the authority of the federal government, quickly calling forth state militia forces to suppress the Whiskey Rebellion, a flouting of the excise tax laws by farmers in western Pennsylvania. Always a precedent-setting leader, he established a critical final one when he refused to accept a third term.

Washington's stirring Farewell Address to the country not only cautioned against sectional differences and foreign entanglements but also encapsulated his philosophy of government. In relinquishing the reins of power for the last time, he reminded his fellow citizens that "the Unity of Government which constitutes you one people is also now dear to you. It is justly so; for it is a main Pillar in the Edifice of your real independence, the support of your tranquility at home; your peace abroad; of your safety; of your prosperity; of that very Liberty which you so highly prize."

James Sharples (ca. 1751–1811), *James Madison* (from life), pastel on paper, 9 in x 7 in, Philadelphia, 1796–97. Courtesy Independence National Historical Park Collection, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

The World of James Madison

By John O. Marsh, Jr.
Secretary of the Army

I am honored by this recognition, and thank you, Dr. Carrier, and all those associated with the University, for having presented me this honorary degree.

We are on the eve of the Bicentennial of our Constitution, when we revisit the Age and the World of James Madison.

● Two centuries ago, George III still reigned. England, shocked by the loss of their Colonies in North America, was seeking a new empire in India.

● France, our benefactor, was moving toward revolution. The crown of Louis XVI was about to topple.

● James Watt's steam engine was introduced into a cotton factory and helped raise the curtain on the Industrial Revoluation. Great Britain and the rest of the Western World would never be the same.

Remarks made at James Madison University Founders Day, Harrisonburg, Virginia, Wednesday, March 20, 1985.

- 1785 saw the birth of the *London Times,* and the crossing of the English Channel by balloon.

- That year the House of Delegates passed legislation drafted by Jefferson and sponsored by Madison to guarantee religious freedom in the Commonwealth of Virginia.

- George Washington's diary relates in March he planted trees at Mount Vernon, and

- Commissioners from Maryland and Virginia met at Mount Vernon to discuss matters of mutual concern. Their report of 28 March 1785 was the first step toward the Constitutional Convention in '87. James Madison played a key role in causing that conference to occur. The General Assembly of Virginia has adopted a Proclamation to commemorate this Conference.

James Madison was a man for all seasons.

A scholar, political scientist, and lawyer, he was also a child of the Revolution. He no doubt agreed with another great contemporary, John Adams, who said:

> "I must study politics and war, that my sons may have liberty to study mathematics and philosophy, geography, and natural history...in order to give their children a right to study painting, poetry, music, and architecture."

Madison was elected to the Virginia House of Delegates at the age of 25. He was defeated when he stood for re-election – a defeat historians attribute to his failure to provide rum to his constituents on Election Day.

He served in the Continental Congress, and the first Federal Congress. He became Secretary of State, and was elected America's fourth President.

It is difficult for us to imagine the vastness, and isolation, of 18th Century America. Travel time was measured in days and weeks.

Europe was a month's sailing time east bound, and nearly two months west bound to America. One had to allow at least three days to travel by horseback from Harrisonburg to Richmond.

Because Madison was visionary, this vastness did not inhibit his conceiving a government for a country that stretched over 1,500 miles from Massachusetts to Georgia.

At 36 he drafted the "Virginia Plan," the blueprint for the Constitution. His notes of the proceedings in Philadelphia are the best record of the Convention. His co-authorship of the *Federalist Papers* aided ratification.

Many contributed, but the Constitution bore the stamp of James Madison. He has been called its Father.

He stood for election to the House of Representatives for the first Congress and defeated James Monroe. His first term in the Congress is unequalled.

He introduced those Amendments to the Constitution we know as "The Bill of Rights." Through his leadership they were adopted in 1791. There is no greater definition, or guaranty of human rights, than these provisions of our Constitution. Had he done nothing else, this would have earned his place in history.

The age of Madison is a legacy to the modern world. We are special heirs. We have prospered because of his efforts.

During World War I, Kipling, in the poem *"For All We Have And Are,"* wrote:

"Comfort, content, delight,
The ages' slow-bought gain,
They perished in a night,
Only ourselves remain
To face the naked days."

The poet John Donne observed:

"No man is an island entire of itself."

If man cannot be an island unto himself, neither can Nations.

Can we be the non-involved and the un-aligned?

What is the price of indifference to the world in which we live?

Shall we be swept along with the currents of change, or shall we seek to direct them?

It is in our power within the next several years to shape events for the 21st Century – but will we?

America is both a powerful idea, and a great moral force. Rooted in Western values, and the Judean-Christian heritage, it recognizes the inestimable worth of the individual.

Truth and reason, justice and liberty are the pillars of a social structure that ensures rights, and permits the pursuit of happiness.

Madison said:

"If men were angels, no government would be necessary."

Two centuries ago, his world was a time of chaos and change. There were diplomatic intrigues, domestic unrest at home, and threats of aggression from abroad. There were economic concerns, and bitter debates about the financial plight of the national government.

"The more things change, the more they are the same."

Because no other University bears the name of Madison.

Because Founders Day is a time when we reflect on the past, examine the present, and set goals, could I suggest several areas of leadership Madison University might consider?

- First, I would like to see this University take the lead in the examination and recognition of those events occurring two centuries ago which led to our Constitutional Convention. This could begin next week in keeping with the Proclamation of the General Assembly to honor the Mount Vernon Conference.

- Second, could there be inaugurated by Madison University a series of special studies, or lectures, directed to the Constitutional Convention in 1787, the ratification process in 1788, the founding of the American Republic in 1789, and their meaning today?

- Third, beginning in 1987, and in each ensuing year as we move to the next century, will mark a significant national Bicentennial event. To understand these events, could an effort be undertaken for their commemoration with special attention to the Bill of Rights in 1791?

- Fourth, would it be timely to begin a Third Millennium program to look at the role of government and the application of Madison's principles to the 21st Century?

- Fifth, I ask the leadership of this University and its student body to consider establishing here a center of learning and leadership in the field of American political science which might have as its centerpiece the James Madison Chair in political science or history.

In the closing years of the 20th Century. "Man's inhumanity to man is still with us."

I wish there were no terrorism – that senseless brutality that can strike anywhere: or –

A Berlin Wall that divides East from West.

I wish there never had been an invasion of Afghanistan or wars in the Middle East to make the Holy Land a bitter ground.

I wish Africa were a place of peace and plenty, not gripped by famine and conflict.

I wish there were no nuclear terror which requires deterrent capabilities for national preservation.

I wish there were no insurgencies in El Salvador, or Military build-up in Nicaragua, or weapons sent from Cuba to spawn wars in Central America.

But there are.

And my wishing there were not – is not going to make them go away. I know the world is a troubled and dangerous planet, and I remind myself most of the world is not free.

Yet, I know a strong defense is vital to a free America – and essential for a stable world. It is a shield behind which the forces of economic development, social progress, and democracy can take root, so fledgling nations committed to democratic values can give their people the opportunity to pursue happiness.

In less than 15 years the Century ends – a new age begins. Where will America stand as a world power in the year 2,000? – It makes a difference.

By then, does anyone think the world we know today will not have changed? In Africa – the Middle East – Central America – Will peace and freedom under law be more – or less secure? It makes a difference.

Who stands to lose if the forces of democracy are not emergent as we begin the 21st Century? Does not the scholar, the scientist, the journalist? Do you? Don't we all?

Lincoln saved the Union that Madison envisioned. Lincoln's parents were natives of this area. His father grew up several miles from here.

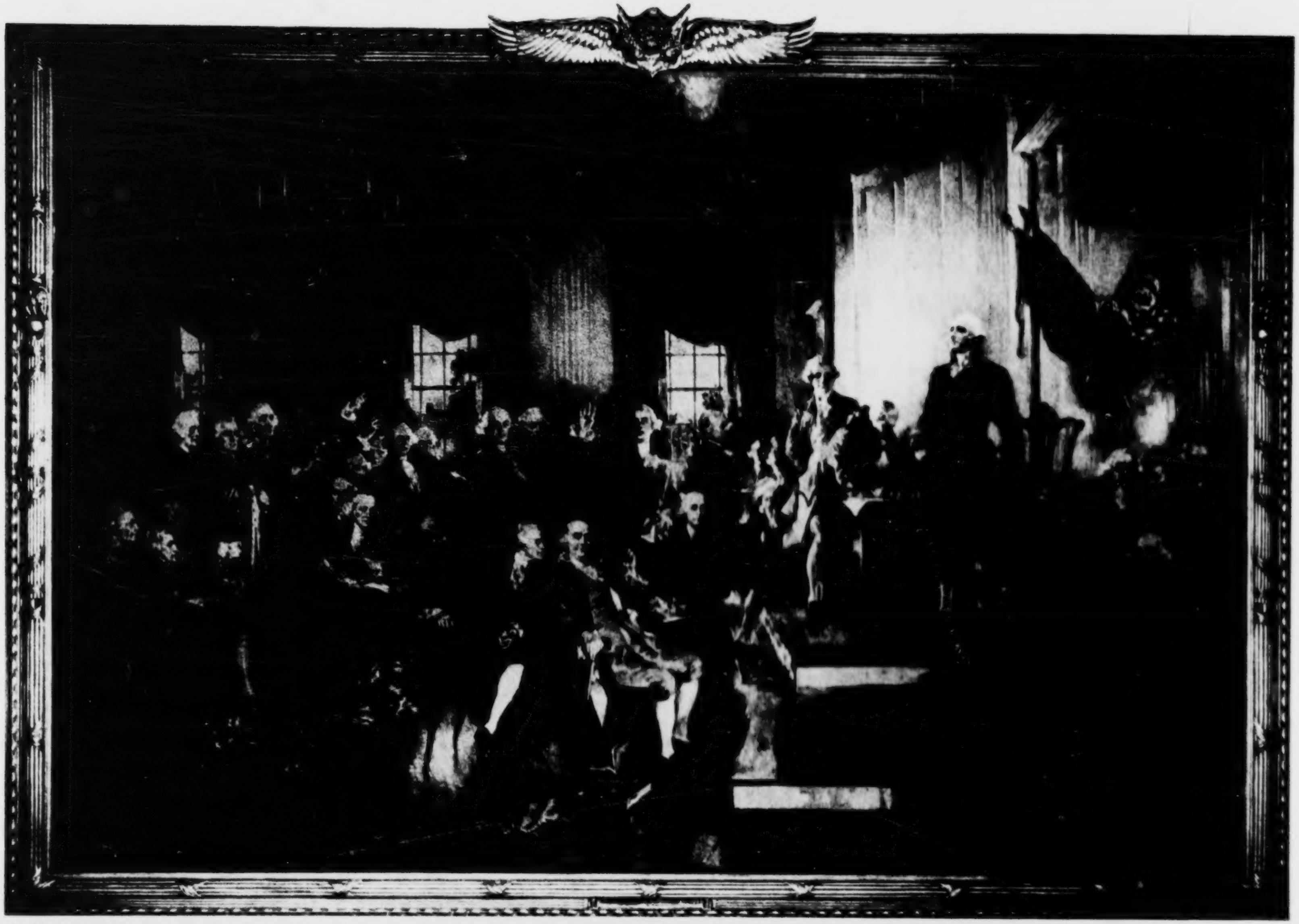
I believe James Madison would have agreed, when at a time of crisis in our Nation's history, President Lincoln said:

"The dogmas of the quiet past,
Are inadequate to the stormy present.
The occasion is piled high with difficulty,
And we must rise-with the occasion.
As our case is new, so we must think anew.
And act anew.
We must disenthrall ourselves,
And then we shall save our country."

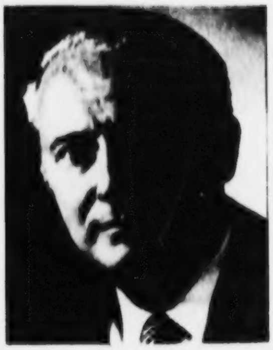
Secretary of the Army John O. Marsh, Jr. received the Freedoms Foundation highest award, the George Washington Honor Medal, for this speech. He was awarded the medal on August 24, 1986.

Chapter 6

23 SOLDIER/STATESMEN



Credit: Capitol – Scene of the Signers of the Constitution of the United States, by Howard Chandler Christy, courtesy of the Architect of the Capitol



Introduction

In September 1987 the United States commemorates the bicentennial of the signing of the Constitution. Twenty-two of the thirty-nine signers of the Constitution were veterans of the Revolutionary War. Their experiences in that conflict made them deeply conscious of the need for a strong central government that would prevail against its enemies, yet one that would safeguard the individual liberties and the republican form of government for which they had fought. Their solution is enshrined in the Constitution. The President of the United States is the Commander in Chief of the nation's military forces. But it is the Congress that has the power to raise and support those forces, and to declare war. The Founding Fathers established for all time the precedent that the military, subordinated to the Congress, would remain the servant of the Republic. That concept is the underpinning of the American military officer. These twenty-two men were patriots and leaders in every sense of the word: they fought the war, they signed the Constitution, and they forged the new government. They all went on to careers of distinguished public service in the new Republic. Their accomplishments should not be forgotten by those who enjoy the fruits of their labors. Nor should we forget the fortieth man whose name appears on the Constitution. The Secretary was the twenty-third Revolutionary veteran in the Convention, who continued his service to the nation as one of its first civil servants.

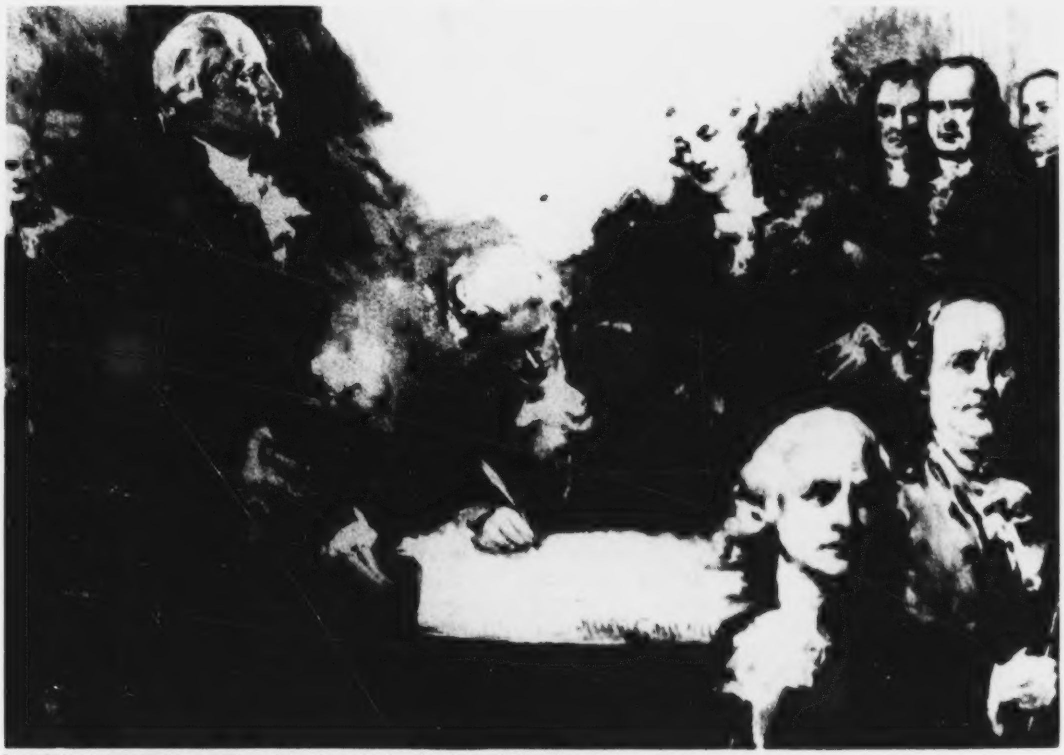
This pamphlet was prepared by the U.S. Army Center of Military History with the hope that it will provide you with the background of a great American; stimulate you to learn more about him; and help you enjoy and appreciate the bicentennial.

John O. Marsh, Jr.

John O. Marsh, Jr.
Secretary of the Army

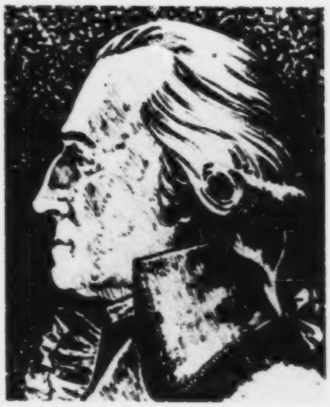
Soldier-Statesmen of the Constitution
A Bicentennial Series

George Washington
John Dickinson
Richard Bassett
James McHenry
William Blount
Richard Dobbs Spaight
Hugh Williamson
Charles Cotesworth Pinckney
Charles Pinckney
Pierce Butler
William Few
Abraham Baldwin
John Langdon
Nicholas Gillman
Rufus King
Alexander Hamilton
William Livingston
David Brearley
Johnathan Dayton
Thomas Mifflin
Thomas Fitzsimons
Gouverneur Morris
William Jackson



Poster for the Sesquicentennial of the Constitution by Howard Chandler Christy. ***National Archives.***

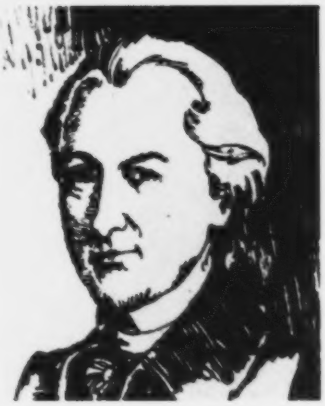
GEORGE WASHINGTON
Virginia



Among the Founding Fathers, the man who presided over the Constitutional Convention most clearly embodies the classic concept of the soldier-statesman. Just as George Washington was the architect of victory in the Revolution, so too, as the first President, he was the key figure in establishing essential political precedents to ensure the success of the new Republic. Even to his contemporaries, Washington seemed larger than life. Possessed of an extraordinary strength of character and a wealth of public vitues, he exhibited an integrity, self-discipline, and devotion to duty that made him the natural leader in the task of nation building.

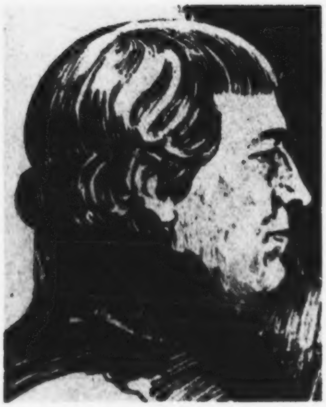
Rising above the interests of class and section, Washington made a strong, viable union his goal. In a very real sense, he personified the emerging spirit of nationhood in the newly independent colonies. His support for a strong central government undoubtedly reflected his military experience, both as an officer in the Virginia militia and as the commanding general of the Continental Army. Indeed, the thirteen years that Washington spent on active service'more than a quarter of his adult life'were a singular devotion to public duty by a prosperous, eighteenth-century landowner. The practical experiences provided by this lengthy military career furnished Washington with a sure grasp of the political, economic, and military advantages to be gained from an effective central government. His unwavering support of this concept, and his understanding of the importance of political compromise, were essential to the success of the Constitutional Convention.

JOHN DICKINSON
Delaware



John Dickinson represented both Delaware and Pennsylvania at the founding of the Republic. A man of the Enlightenment, he believed that government was a solemn social contract between the people and their sovereign. Like most colonial leaders, Dickinson considered himself an Englishman with all the ancient rights and privileges such citizenship conferred, and he was quick to oppose any abridgment of those rights by Parliament. But when others carried such opposition to the point of rebellion with the Declaration of Independence, Dickinson refused to sign. His reasoning set him apart from most of his colleagues. He understood the contract to be with the King, not with Parliament, and to be mutual as well as permanent. He hoped that an appeal to reason might remind the King of that contractual obligation to his American subjects and thereby restore good relations. Only when King George publicly sided with his ministers and ordered a Royal army to New York did Dickinson consider the social contract dissolved. Although he refused to sign the Declaration, Dickinson was among the first to don uniform to defend the new nation.

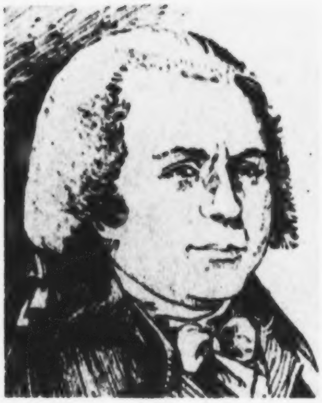
RICHARD BASSETT
Delaware



Richard Bassett, who represented Delaware at the Constitutional Convention, devoted most of his career to the service of his country and state. Reflecting the particular interests and needs of his region, he concentrated on agricultural matters, local military organization, and religious and charitable affairs. Only rarely and for the briefest periods during his adult life did he even travel outside the boundaries of Kent County. Yet at a key moment in his country's history, Bassett assumed an important role in advancing the cause of a strong central government. He led the fight for ratification of the Constitution in Delaware, an effort crowned on 7 December 1787 when his state became the first to approve the new instrument of government.

Bassett's experiences as a politician and soldier during the Revolution broadened his political horizons. The war had demonstrated, even to a man whose concerns had seldom transcended the confines of his state, the need for greater regional and national cooperation if the political and economic promises of independence for every community and every interest were to be realized. In Bassett's case, the war not only served to focus his attention on such broad issues but also transformed him into an effective proponent of a truly cohesive union of all the states.

JAMES McHENRY
Maryland



James McHenry, who represented Maryland at the Constitutional Convention, was a recent immigrant to America. Like many of those who would come after, he quickly developed a strong sense of patriotism, which he then demonstrated by volunteering to defend his new homeland. Less than five years after first landing in Philadelphia, McHenry, who included himself among those he called the "sons of freedom," was serving with the Continental forces surrounding Boston. The young Irish immigrant proved to be a strong nationalist, focusing more on the concept of a united America than on loyalty to any one of the three colonies in which he had lived before the Revolution. From the beginning, this nationalistic outlook led him to see "absolute independency" as the goal of the true patriot. His experiences in the Army, including service on General George Washington's personal staff, convinced him that the only obstacles to nationhood were timidity among the citizenry and "disunion" among the states. Throughout a career of public service that lasted into the second decade of the new republic, he would forcefully and consistently uphold the ideal of a strong central government as embodied in the Constitution as the best guarantee against any such disunity or loss of national purpose in the future.

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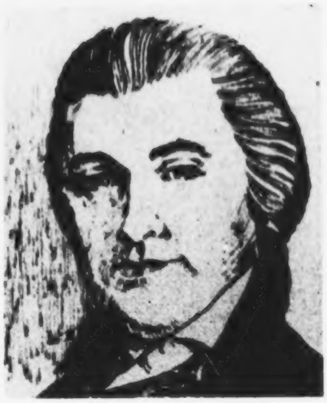
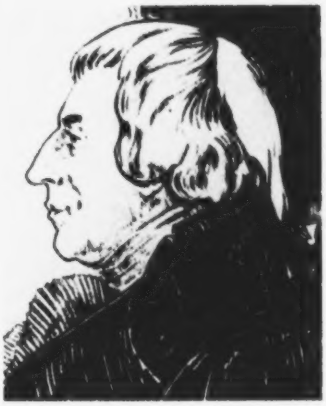
WILLIAM BLOUNT
North Carolina



William Blount, who represented North Carolina at the Constitutional Convention, personified America's enduring fascination with its frontier. Raised in the aristocratic tradition of the seaboard planter society, Blount faithfully served his native state in elective office and under arms during the Revolution. Like George Washington, Blount became fascinated with the boundless opportunities of the west. He was drawn to the trans-Allegheny territories, where he eventually played a major role in the founding of the state of Tennessee.

Blount's journey from the drawing rooms of the east to the rude frontier cabins of his adopted state not only illustrates the lure of the region to a man of business and political acumen but also underscores the opportunities provided by the creation of a strong central government that could protect and foster westward expansion. Indeed, Blount had led the fight in North Carolina for ratification of the new Constitution because he, like many of his fellow veterans, had come to realize that the various political and economic promises of independence could only be fulfilled by a strong, effective union of all the states.

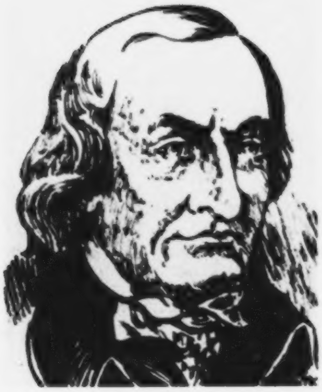
RICHARD DOBBS SPAIGHT
North Carolina



Throughout his short life Richard Dobbs Spaight, who represented North Carolina in the Constitutional Convention, exhibited a marked devotion to the ideals heralded by the Revolution. The nephew of a royal governor, possessed of all the advantages that accompanied such rank and political access, Spaight nevertheless fought for the political and economic rights of his fellow citizens, first on the battlefield against the forces of an authoritarian Parliament and later in state and national legislatures against those who he felt sought excessive government control over the lives of the people. The preservation of liberty was his political lodestar.

Always an ardent nationalist, Spaight firmly supported the cause of effective central government. In this, he reflected a viewpoint common among veterans of the Revolution: that only a close union of all the states could preseve the liberties won by the cooperation of all the colonies. At the same time, Spaight believed that to guarantee the free exercise of these liberties, the powers of the state must be both limited and strictly defined. He therefore advocated constitutional provisions at the Convention that would protect the rights of the small states against the political power of their more populous neighbors, just as he later would fight for a constitutionally defined bill of rights to defend the individual citizen against the powers of government.

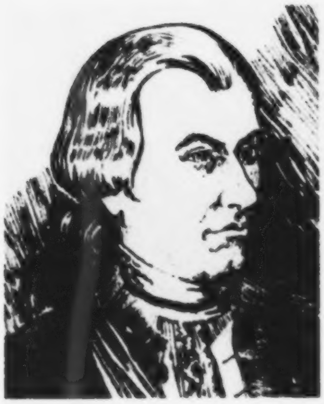
HUGH WILLIAMSON
North Carolina



Hugh Williamson, who represented North Carolina at the Constitutional Convention, was a scholar of international renown. His erudition had brought him into contact with some of the leading intellectuals of the Patriot cause and, in turn, with the ferment of political ideas that eventually found expression in the Constitution. During the Revolution, Williamson contributed his considerable talents as physician and natural scientist to the American war effort. His experiences in that preeminent event of his generation transformed the genial scholar into an adroit politician and a determined leader in the campaign for effective national government. This leadership was evident not only at the Convention in Philadelphia but also, with telling effect, during the ratification debates in North Carolina.

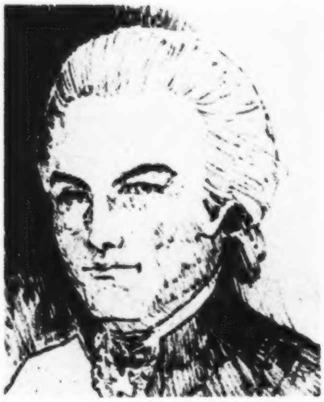
Williamson's career demonstrates the rootlessness that characterized the lives of many Americans even in the eighteenth century. Born on the frontier, he lived for significant periods of his long life in three different regions of the country. This mobility undoubtedly contributed to the development of his nationalistic outlook, an outlook strengthened by wartime service with interstate military forces and reinforced by the interests of the planters and merchants that formed his North Carolina constituency. These experiences convinced him that only a strong central government could foster and protect the political, economic, and intellectual promises of the Revolution.

CHARLES COTESWORTH PINCKNEY
South Carolina



Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, who represented South Carolina at the Constitutional Convention, was an American aristocrat. Like other first families of South Carolina, who wealth and social prominence could be traced to the seventeenth century, the Pinckneys maintained close ties with the mother country and actively participated in the royal colonial government. Nevertheless, when armed conflict threatened, Pinckney rejected Loyalist appeals and embraced the Patriot cause. Pragmatically, his decision represented an act of allegiance to the mercantile-planter class of South Carolina's seaboard, which deeply resented Parliament's attempt to institute political and economic control over the colonies. Yet Pinckney's choice also had a philosophical dimension. It placed him among a small group of wealthy and powerful southerners whose profound sense of public duty obliged them to risk everything in defense of their state and the rights of its citizens. In Pinckney's case this sense of public responsibility was intensified by his determination to assume the mantle of political and military leadership traditionally worn by members of his family.

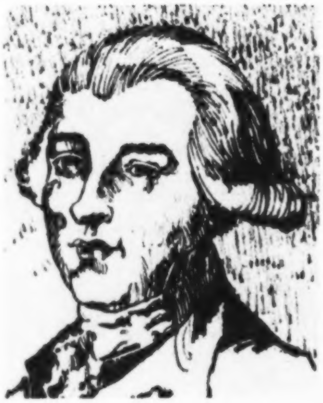
CHARLES PINCKNEY
South Carolina



Charles Pinckney, who represented South Carolina at the Constitutional Convention, was an ardent apostle of the rights of man. He dedicated his considerable political and legal talents to the establishment of a strong national government so that, as he put it to his fellow South Carolinians, "the effects of the Revolution may never cease to operate," but continue to serve as an example to others "until they have unshackled all the nations that have firmness to resist the fetters of despotism."

These ringing sentiments, perhaps easily explained as the idealism of a youthful veteran of the Revolution, nonetheless represented a very serious concern on Pinckney's part that his fellow citizens were growing complacent since their victory over Britain. While many politicians, enjoying the fruits of independence, celebrated the sovereignty of the individual states, Pinckney was among those who perceived a clear and present danger in allowing a weak confederation of the stats to lead the new nation that had emerged from the Revolutionary War. He worked unceasingly for an effective and permanent union of the states because his own experiences in the Revolution and as a member of the Continental Congress had reinforced his conviction that only a strong central government could provide the economic and military strength essential to prosperity and security.

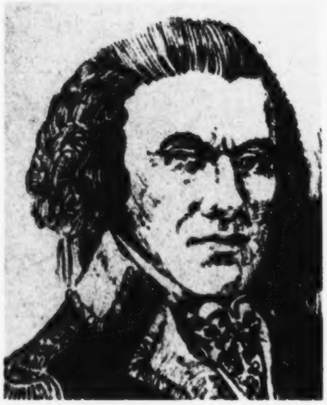
PIERCE BUTLER
South Carolina



Pierce Butler, who represented South Carolina at the Constitutional Convention, was a man of startling contrasts. As late as 1772 he was a ranking officer in those British units charged with suppressing the growing colonial resistance to Parliament. In fact, a detachment from his unit, the 29th Regiment of Foot, had fired the shots in the "Boston Massacre" of 1770, thereby dramatically intensifying the confrontation between the colonies and England. But by 1779 Butler, now an officer in South Carolina's militia and a man with a price on his head, was organizing American forces to fight the invading Redcoats. Butler lost his considerable estates and fortune during the British occupation of South Carolina, but at the end of the Revolutionary War he was among the first to call for reconciliation with the Loyalists and a renewal of friendly relations with the former enemy. Although an aristocrat to the manor born, Butler became a leading spokesman for the frontiersmen and impoverished western settlers. Finally, this patriot, always a forecful and eloquent advocate of the rights of the common man during the debate over the Constitution, was also the proud owner of a sizable number of slaves.

The unifying force in this fascinating career was Butler's strong and enduring sense of nationalism. An Irish nobleman, he severed his ties with the old world to embrace the concept of a permanent union of the thirteen states. His own military and political experiences then led him to the conviction that a strong central government, as the bedrock of political and economic security, was essential to protect the rights not only of his own social class and adopted state but also of all classes of citizens and all the states.

WILLIAM FEW
Georgia

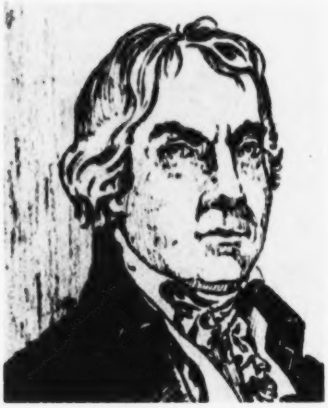


William Few, who represented Georgia at the Constitutional Convention, was a self-made man. Born into a family struggling against the poverty and hardships that were the common lot of the small yeoman farmer, Few achieved both social prominence and political power. Exhibiting those characteristics of self-reliance vital for survival on the American frontier, he became an initimate of the nation's political and military elite. The idea of a rude frontiersman providing the democratic leaven within an association of the rich and powerful has always excited the American imagination, nurtured on stories of Davey Crockett and Abe Lincoln. In the case of the self-educated Few, that image was largely accurate.

Few's inherent gifts for leadership and organization, as well as his sense of public service, were brought out by his experience in the Revolutionary War. Important in any theater of military operations, leadership and organizational ability were particularly needed in the campaigns in the south where a dangerous and protracted struggle against a determined British invader intimately touched the lives of many settlers. Few's dedication to the common good and his natural military acumen quickly brought him to the attention of the leaders of the Patriot cause, who eventually invested him with important political responsibilities as well.

The war also profoundly affected Few's attitude toward the political future of the new nation, transforming the rugged frontier individualist into a forceful exponent of a permanent union of the states.

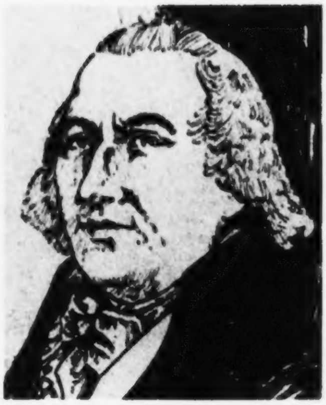
ABRAHAM BALDWIN
Georgia



Abraham Baldwin, who represented Georgia at the Constitutional Convention, was a fervent missionary of public education. Throughout his career he combined a faith in democratic institutions with a belief that an informed citizenry was essential to the continuing well-being of those institutions. The son of an unlettered Connecticut blacksmith, Baldwin's own distinguished public service clearly demonstrated how academic achievement could open opportunities in early American society. Educated primarily for a position in the church, he served in the Continental Army during the climactic years of the Revolution. There, close contact with men of widely varying economic and social backgrounds broadened his outlook and experience and convinced him that public leadership in America included a duty to instill in the electorate the tenets of civic responsibility.

Baldwin also displayed a strong sense of nationalism. Experiences during the war as well as his subsequent work in public education convinced him that the future well-being of an older, more prosperous state like Connecticut was closely linked to developments in newer frontier states like Georgia, where political institutions were largely unformed and provisions for education remained primitive. His later political career was animated by the conviction that only a strong central government dedicated to the welfare of all its citizens could guarantee the fulfillment of the social and economic potential of the new nation.

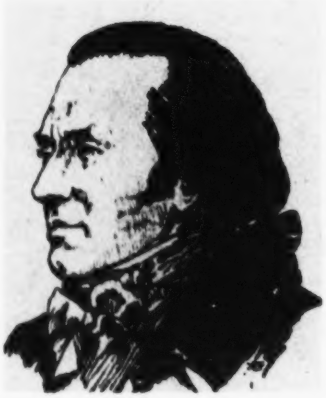
JOHN LANGDON
New Hampshire



John Langdon, who represented New Hampshire at the Constitutional Convention, was a wealthy international trader. Thrust by his widespread commercial interests into the forefront of the Patriot cause, Langdon contributed his highly developed business acumen during the Revolution to the problems of supplying the Continental Navy. As a citizen-soldier, he also participated under arms in the American victory, on several occasions using his personal fortune to ensure the success of his militia command.

Langdon's various political and military experiences in the Revolution led him to believe that the well-being of his country demanded a binding union of the states. brought into direct contact with Washington and the other Patriot leaders, he came, like them, to appreciate the advantages of an effective central government. A citizen of one of the smaller and less influential states, he realized that only a strong union could protect the rights and privileges of all citizens. His business background also convinced him of the need for a government that could guarantee economic stability and growth. At the same time, his experiences in the militia and in the Continental Congress made him an articulate exponent of the idea that military forces must always remain subordinate to civilian government in a democratic society. During a long political career at both the state and national level, Langdon continued to promote the concept of a united nation and to inform his fellow citizens of the unique advantages bestowed upon the new republic by the Constitution.

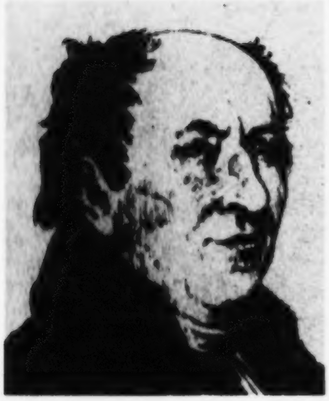
NICHOLAS GILMAN
New Hampshire



Nicholas Gilman, New Hampshire patriot and Revolutionary War veteran, was among those assembled in Philadelphia in the summer of 1787 to devise a new instrument of government for the independent American states. Gilman realized that the resulting Constitution was less than perfect, leaving certain viewponts and interests largely unsatisfied. It was, in fact, an amalgam of regional ambitions and citizen safeguards forged in the spirit of political compromise. But Gilman was among the Constitution's most ardent supporters, believing that there was no alternative to the strong, viable union created by such a constitution except a drift into political and economic chaos. Imbued with the emerging spirit of nationhood, he entered the struggle for ratification in his own state. At least nine favorable votes from the states were needed to install the new Constitution. Thanks to the work of Gilman and others, New Hampshire cast the crucial ninth aye vote.

Gilman's fervor for national unity flowed naturally from his experiences during the Revolution. An officer in the Continental Army, he served on George Washington's staff through the dark days of Valley Forge to the final victory at Yorktown. From this vantage point he came to appreciate the need for a strong central authority both to guide the political and social destiny of what was at best a loosely organized confederation of states and to preserve those personal liberties for which Americans had sacrificed so much.

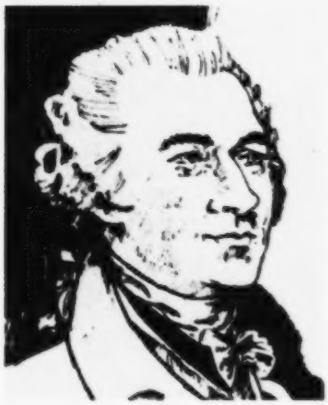
RUFUS KING
Massachusetts



Rufus King, who represented Massachusetts in the Constitutional Convention, was a political realist. The lessons of a classical education and certain tragic events in his family's history combined to convince him that idealism had to be tempered with vigilance and that a fledgling nation would need a strong government to protect the rights of its citizens while defending its interests in a hostile world. Throughout a lengthy public career he employed his considerable diplomatic and oratorical skills to promote the twin causes of nationalism and civil liberty, fighting in the last decade of his life to extend those liberties to the nation's enslaved minority.

The Revolutionary War marked a watershed in King's life. Like other major social and political upheavals, the Revolution was accompanied by local breakdowns of justice and public order. The King family was the victim of one such breakdown, and the incident turned the young patriot into a passionate advocate of the rule of law and the rights of the individual. King's military experience would also make him a leading exponent of strong national defense, but one who always demanded that the nation's military forces remain subordinated to the needs and purposes of the civilian government. King also served as an important transitional figure, passing on to a new generation of leaders the ideals that had animated the Revolution. The last of the Founding Fathers to pass from the scene, he served in various political and diplomatic offices until 1826.

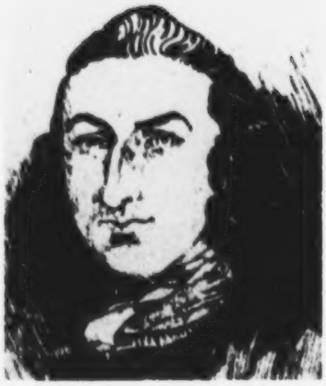
ALEXANDER HAMILTON
New York



Alexander Hamilton, who represented New York at the Constitutional Convention, was a brilliant political theorist and a leading advocate of centralized government. As an immigrant, Hamilton was able to transcend loyalty to any single state or region and think in terms of nationhood. He combined a natural affinity for aristocratic values with a generally pessimistic view of human nature and concluded that successful government must be strong and must win the support of men of property and social standing. Hamilton was among the most intellectually gifted of the Founding Fathers, rivaling in ability of his arch foe, Thomas Jefferson, but he lacked practical political experience and failed to win support for many of his most cherished ideas. A blunt, practical man, he never understood the role that idealists like Jefferson played in shaping society.

Hamilton was a master of financial planning and central organization. Many of his ideas about government matured during a youth spent in the uniform of the Continental Army. The fact that Hamilton's lifetime was dominated by a series of global wars between Great Britain and France colored his thinking about politics. He came to believe that the survival of the United States depended on its ability to provide for its self-defense, and his plans to strengthen the political union, eloquently express during the fight to ratify the Constitution, were directly linked to his ideas on military matters.

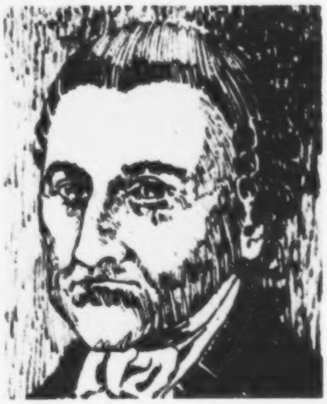
WILLIAM LIVINGSTON
New Jersey



William Livingston, who represented New Jersey at the Constitutional Convention, was one of the new nation's authentic renaissance figures. An accomplished man of letters, linguist, agronomist, and charter member of the American Philosophical Society, he was also a notable man of action, as attorney, soldier, and state governor. The many facets of his personality combined to form a complex public figure who stood at the forefront of those fighting for independence and the creation of a strong national government. His was not a career eagerly sought. In fact, Livingston sincerely desired the quiet life of a country gentleman, but his exceptional organizational skills and dedication to popular causes repeatedly thrust him into the hurly-burly of politics.

The strong sense of public service that animated his long career also led him to champion the rights of the common man. For Livingston, freedom of religion and freedom of the press, for example, were no idle speculations, but rather living causes to which he devoted his considerable legal and literary talents. His experiences during the Revolutionary War, both as soldier and as governor of New Jersey, convicned him that weak government and unchecked local interests posed a threat to citizens equal to that endured under the Crown. An ardent republican, he considered the new Constitution an ideal instrument foı guaranteeing that the rights of the individual and the aspirations of the nation would exist together in harmony under a rule of law.

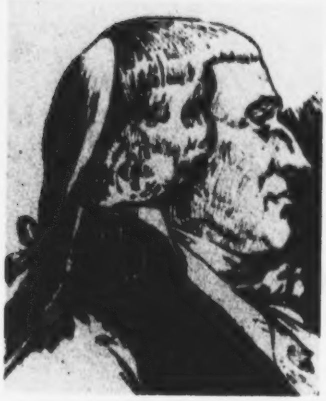
DAVID BREARLEY
New Jersey



David Brearley, who represented New Jersey at the Constitutional Convention, was an important spokesman for the proposition that law had primacy over governments and social institutions. A student of the Enlightenment philosophers and English jurists, he adopted their idea that a contract existed between the individual and the state. He held that the citizen possessed basic rights that had been encapsulated in the common law and customs of England, and that neither the will of Parliament nor the immediate needs of local society should take precedence over these fundamental rights. He defended these beliefs on the battlefield during the Revolution and later, as an eminent American jurist, from the bench. Brearley would live to see the Constitution he helped frame with its careful definition of citizen rights and government obligations become the supreme law of the land.

Brearley's experiences during the Revolution did much to clarify his attitudes toward government. He came to realize in the tumult of civil war that raged through his home state during the Revolution that without the protection of a strong government the citizen's rights would always be hostage to the whims of popular prejudice. A soldier with ties to both militia and regulars, he concluded that only a constitutionally based government could guarantee that the nation's military forces remained properly subordinated to its elected leaders. His wartime experience also provided him first-hand evidence of the confusion and chaos that accompanied a weak confederation of the states.

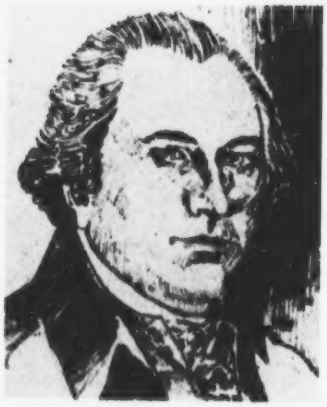
JONATHAN DAYTON
New Jersey



Jonathan Dayton, who represented New Jersey at the Consitutional Convention, believed that government should defend individual freedoms, but from within the framework of an ordered society. Unlike most of his colleagues, Dayton held to this traditional concept of government well into the nineteenth century. Even then, the social distinctions that guided the leaders of the revolutionary generation long faded, he retained the manners, customs, and the political philosophy of his youth. His insistance on the old ways won him the title "the last of the cocked hats." But if Dayton insisted on outmoded social distinctions, he also possessed a healthy political realism that contributed in full measure to the creation of the new American republic.

Dayton's practical approach to government evolved out of his experiences as a unit commander during the Revolution. Eight years' service in the Continental Army made him a first-hand witness to the consequences of weak political leadership. It convinced him that a strong central government was needed to guide and protect the new nation, and was in fact the only means by which organizations essential to its future prosperity, including a professional army, could operate efficiency while remaining securely under the people's control. He also realized that the rights of small states like New Jersey needed special protection, and that a powerful government, grounded in law, provided the best guarantee of such protection.

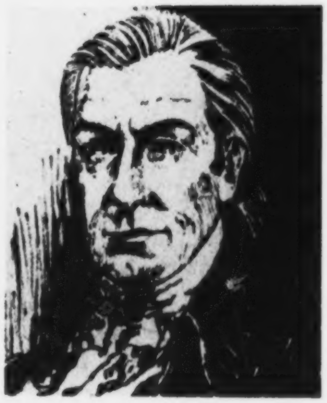
THOMAS MIFFLIN
Pennsylvania



Thomas Mifflin, who represented Pennsylvania at the Constitutional Convention, seemed full of contradictions. Although he chose to become a businessman and twice served as the chief logistical officer of the Revolutionary armies, he never mastered his personal finances. A Quaker with strong pacifist beliefs, he helped organize Pennsylvania's military forces at the outset of the Revolution and rose to the rank of major general in the Continental Army. Despite his generally judicious deportmant, contemporaries noted his "warm temperament" that led to frequent quarrells, including one with George Washington that had national consequences.

Throughout the twists and turns of a checkered career Mifflin remained true to ideas formulated in his youth. Probably aware of personal flaws, he believed that mankind was an imperfect species and worked to create a system of government based on the premise that "that Power alone is just which is adapted to the public good." Believing individuals weak, he trusted to the collective judgment of the citizenry. As he noted in his schoolbooks, "There can be no Right to Power, except what is either founded upon, or speedily obtains the hearty Consent of the Body of the People." Mifflin's service during the Revolution, in the Constitutional Convention, and, more importantly, as governor during the time when the federal partnership between the states and the national government was being worked out can only be understood in the context of his commitment to these basic principles and his impatience with those who failed to live up to them.

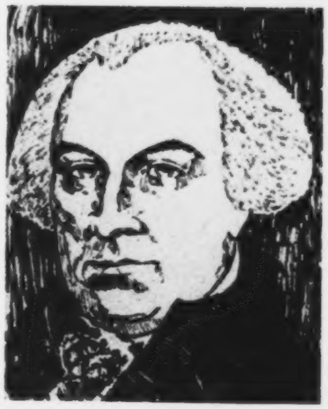
THOMAS FITZSIMONS
Pennsylvania



Thomas Fitzsimons, who represented Pennsylvania in the Constitutional Convention, viewed government as a logical extention of the relationship that existed among families, ethnic communities, and business groups. His own immigrant family, Philadelphia's Irish-Catholic community, and the city's fraternity of merchants all figured prominently in Fitzsimons' rise to wealth and status and he sought a government strong enough to protect and foster the natural interplay of these elements of a healthy society.

Experiences in the Revolution reinforced Fitzsimons' nationalist sympathies. Like many immigrants, he demonstrated his devotion to his adopted land by springing to its defense. Participation at the battle of Trenton and the later defense of Philadelphia convinced him of the need for central control of the nation's military forces. Similarly, his wartime association with Robert Morris and the other fiscal architects of the nation convinced him that a central organization of trade and finances was imperative to the prosperity of the country. Though his talents brought him great wealth, Fitzsimons never lost sight of the aspirations and concerns of the common people. He retained their respect and affection not for his wealth and power, but because his career reflected a profound honesty. He judged each political issue on ethical grounds. "I conceive it to be a duty," he said, "to contend for what is right, be the issue as it may." Using this standard, he concluded with justifiable pride that the Constitution he helped devise was a "treasure to posterity."

GOUVERNEUR MORRIS
Pennsylvania



Gouverneur Morris, who represented Pennsylvania at the Convention in Philadelphia in 1787, was the author of much of the Constitution. The noble phrases of that document's Preamble—"We the People of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union"—sprang from his gifted mind, and, like the finely wrought clauses that followed, clearly mirrored his personal political philosophy. Morris was perhaps the most outspoken nationalist among the Founding Fathers. Although born into a world of wealth and aristocratic values, he had come to champion the concept of a free citizenry united in an independent nation. In an age when most still thought of themselves as citizens of their sovereign and separate states, Morris was able to articulate a clear vision of a new and powerful union. He was, as Theodore Roosevelt later put it, "emphatically an American first."

Morris witnessed two of history's greatest revolutions, and both had a profound influence on his idea of government. His service as a soldier and as a key member of the Continental Congress during the American Revolution convinced him that a strong central government was needed to preserve and enhance the liberties and boundless opportunities won in the war. As ambassador to Paris during the cataclysmic French Revolution, he came to fear the excesses of power that could be perpetrated in the name of liberty. Reflecting the influence of these events on his thinking, he would later reject what he saw as unjustified assertions of authority by his own government.

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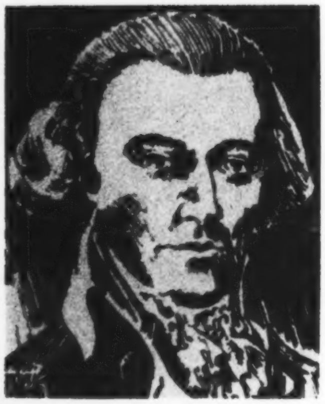
WILLIAM JACKSON
Secretary to the Constitutional Convention



In all, thirty-nine delegates, designated the Founding Fathers by a grateful nation, signed the Constitution in September 1787. But in fact a fortieth signature appears on that historic document, that of William Jackson, the secretary of the Convention, whose name affixed to the Constitution authenticated the results of the sessions in Philadelphia. Although Jackson lacked the delegates' constitutiencies and consequently their right to debate and vote on the issues, he was clearly at one with those who manifested a strong disatisfaction with the weak government left to guide the nation created at such great cost. His own experiences in the Revolution, first as a line officer in some of the war's most frustrating campaigns and later as a staff officer, on diplomatic mission, working with the country's allies and the Continental Congress, led him to identify completely with the ideals of the nationalists. They also convinced him that only a strong government, responsive to the collected will of the electorate, could regulate the country's foreign trade, organize its westward expansion, and defend its institutions. This conviction animated both his work at the Convention and his service to the nation during the presidency of George Washington.

Jackson became the quintessential civil servant. A gifted writer and orator, he employed his considerable organizational talents in the service of the new Republic, managing competently and unobtrusively the flow of official business as the President's private secretary. His loyality to the President, his self-effacement before the luminaries of Washington's cabinet, his "faithfulness and integrity," as General Benjamin Lincoln put it, might well serve as a model for government employees.

GEORGE WASHINGTON

BIRTH: 22 February 1732, at "Wakefield," Westmoreland County, Virginia*

OCCUPATION: Planter

MILITARY SERVICE:

Virginia militia officer – 5 years

Commander in Chief, Continental Army – 8½ years

PUBLIC SERVICE:

Continental Congress – 1 year

President of the United States – 8 years

DEATH: 14 December 1799, at "Mount Vernon," Fairfax County, Virginia

*In 1752 the English-speaking world adopted the Gregorian calendar, thereby adding 11 days to the date. Thus Washington's date of birth was recorded in 1732 as 11 February.

JOHN DICKINSON

BIRTH: 19 November 1732, at "Crosiadore," Talbot Country, Maryland*

OCCUPATION: Lawyer and Politician

MILITARY SERVICE:

Militia – 4 years

Highest Rank – Brigadier General

PUBLIC SERVICE:

Continental Congress – 4 years

Governor of Delaware – 1 year

Governor of Pennsylvania – 4 years

DEATH: 14 February 1808, at Wilmington, Delaware

*In 1752 the English-speaking world shifted from the Julian to the Gregorian calendar, adding 11 days. Thus Dickinson's date of birth was recorded in 1732 as 8 November.

RICHARD BASSETT

BIRTH: 2 April 1745, at "Bohemia Manor," Cecil Country, Maryland*

OCCUPATION: Lawyer and Planter

MILITARY SERVICE:

Captain, Delaware Militia – 3 years

PUBLIC SERVICE:

United States Senate – 4 years

Governor of Delaware – 2 years

DEATH: 15 August 1815, in Kent Country, Delaware

*In 1752 the English-speaking world adopted the Gregorian calendar, thereby adding 11 days to the date. Thus Bassett's date of birth was recorded in 1745 as 21 March.

HUGH WILLIAMSON

BIRTH: 5 December 1735, in West Nottingham Township, Chester County, Pennsylvania*

OCCUPATION: Doctor and Merchant

MILITARY SERVICE:

Surgeon General,

North Carolina State Troops – 3 years

PUBLIC SERVICE:

Continental Congress – 6 years

House of Representatives – 4 years

DEATH: 22 May 1819, at New York, New York

*In 1752 the English-speaking world adopted the Gregorian calendar, thereby adding 11 days to the date. Thus Williamson's date of birth was recorded in 1735 as 24 November.

JAMES McHENRY

BIRTH: 16 November 1753, at Ballymena, County Antrim, Ireland

OCCUPATION: Doctor and Merchant

MILITARY SERVICE:

Continental Army – 6 years

Highest Rank – Major

PUBLIC SERVICE:

Continental Congress – 4 years

Secretary of War – 4½ years

DEATH: 3 May 1816, at "Fayetteville," Baltimore County, Maryland

WILLIAM BLOUNT

BIRTH: 6 April 1749, at "Rosefield," Bertie County, North Carolina*

OCCUPATION: Planter and Land Speculator

MILITARY SERVICE:

Staff Officer (Paymaster), Continental Army – 4 years

PUBLIC SERVICE:

Continental Congress – 4 years

Territorial Governor – 6 years

United States Senator – 1 year

DEATH: 21 March 1800, at Knoxville, Tennessee

*In 1752 the English-speaking world adopted the Gregorian calendar, thereby adding 11 days to the date. Thus Blount's date of birth was recorded in 1749 as 26 March.

RICHARD DOBBS SPAIGHT

BIRTH: 25 March 1758, at Newbern, North Carolina

OCCUPATION: Planter

MILITARY SERVICE:

Staff Officer, North Carolina Militia – 4 years

PUBLIC SERVICE:

Continental Congress – 2 years

House of Representatives – 2 years

Governor of North Carolina – 3 years

DEATH: 6 September 1802, at Newbern, North Carolina

PIERCE BUTLER

BIRTH: 11 July 1744, in County Carlow, Ireland*

OCCUPATION: Soldier and Planter

MILITARY SERVICE:

Adjutant General,

South Carolina Militia – 4 years

PUBLIC SERVICE:

Continental Congress – 1 year

United States Senate – 10 years

DEATH: 15 February 1822, at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

*In 1752 the English-speaking world adopted the Gregorian calendar, thereby adding 11 days to the date. Thus Butler's date of birth was recorded in 1744 as 29 June.

CHARLES COTESWORTH PINCKNEY

BIRTH: 25 February 1746, at Charleston, South Carolina*
OCCUPATION: Lawyer and Planter
MILITARY SERVICE:
Colonel, Continental Army – 8 years
PUBLIC SERVICE:
Major General, United States Army – 2 years
Ambassador to France – 2 years
DEATH: 16 August 1825, at Charleston, South Carolina

*In 1752 the English-speaking world adopted the Gregorian calendar, thereby adding 11 days to the date, and changing New Year's Day from 25 March to 1 January. Thus Pinckney's date of birth was recorded in 1746 as 14 February.

CHARLES PINCKNEY

BIRTH: 26 October 1757, at Charleston, South Carolina
OCCUPATION: Lawyer and Planter
MILITARY SERVICE:
Lieutenant, South Carolina Militia – 3 years
PUBLIC SERVICE:
Continental Congress – 2 years
House of Representatives – 2 years
United States Senate – 3 years
Ambassador to Spain – 3 years
Governor of South Carolina – 8 years
DEATH: 29 October 1824, at Charleston, South Carolina

JOHN LANGDON

BIRTH: 26 June 1741, at Portsmouth, New Hamphire*
OCCUPATION: Merchant and Shipbuilder
MILITARY SERVICE:
Colonel, New Hampshire Militia – 4 years
PUBLIC SERVICE:
Continental Congress – 2 years
United States Senate – 12 years
Governor of New Hampshire – 8 years
DEATH: 18 September 1819, at Portsmouth, New Hampshire

*In 1752 the English-speaking world adopted the Gregorian calendar, thereby adding 11 days to the date. Thus Langdon's date of birth was recorded in 1741 as 14 June.

NICHOLAS GILMAN

BIRTH: 3 August 1755, as Exeter, New Hampshire
OCCUPATION: Merchant
MILITARY SERVICE:
Continental Army – 7 years
Highest Rank – Captain
PUBLIC SERVICE:
Continental Congress – 3 years
United States Senate – 9 years
House of Representatives – 8 years
DEATH: 2 May 1814, at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

WILLIAM FEW

BIRTH: 8 June 1748, in Baltimore County, Maryland*
OCCUPATION: Lawyer and Banker
MILITARY SERVICE:
Colonel, Georgia Militia – 7 years
PUBLIC SERVICE:
Continental Congress – 8 years
United States Senate – 4 years
DEATH: 16 July 1828, at Beacon-on-Hudson, New York

*In 1752 the English-speaking world adopted the Gregorian calendar, thereby adding 11 days to the date. Thus Few's date of birth was recorded in 1748 as 27 May.

ABRAHAM BALDWIN

BIRTH: 23 November 1754, at Guilford, Connecticut
OCCUPATION: Lawyer, Educator, and Clergyman
MILITARY SERVICE:
Chaplain, Continental Army – 5 years
PUBLIC SERVICE:
Continental Congress – 3 year
United States Senate – 8 years
House of Representatives – 10 years
DEATH: 4 March 1807, at Washington, D.C.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON

BIRTH: 11 January 1757, on Nevis, British West Indies
OCCUPATION: Lawyer
MILITARY SERVICE:
Continental Army – 6 years
Highest Rank – Lieutenant Colonel
PUBLIC SERVICE:
Continental Congress – 4 years
Secretary of the Treasury – 6 years
Major General, U.S. Army – 2 years
DEATH: 12 July 1804, at New York City

WILLIAM LIVINGSTON

BIRTH: 30 November 1723, at Albany, New York*
OCCUPATION: Lawyer
MILITARY SERVICE:
New Jersey Militia – 2 years
Highest Rank – Brigadier General
PUBLIC SERVICE:
Continental Congress – 3 years
Governor of New Jersey – 14 years
DEATH: 25 July 1790 at Liberty Hall, Elizabeth Town, New Jersey

*In 1752 the English-speaking world adopted the Gregorian calendar, thereby adding 11 days to the date. Thus Livingston's date of birth was recorded in 1723 as 19 November.

RUFUS KING

BIRTH: 24 March 1755, at Scarboro, Massachusetts*
OCCUPATION: Lawyer and Merchant
MILITARY SERVICE:
  Major, Massachusetts Militia – 1 year
PUBLIC SERVICE:
  Continental Congress – 3 years
  United States Senate – 19 years
  Minister to Great Britain – 8 years
DEATH: 29 April 1827, at New York City

*Now Scarborough, Maine. Maine achieved statehood in 1820; prior to that time it was a part of Massachusetts.

JOHNATHAN DAYTON

BIRTH: 16 October 1760 at Elizabethtown (Now Elizabeth), New Jersey
OCCUPATION: Lawyer, Merchant and Land Speculator
MILITARY SERVICE:
  Continental Army – 8 years
  Highest Rank – Captain
PUBLIC SERVICE:
  Continental Congress – 2 years
  United States Senate – 6 years
  House of Representatives – 8 years
DEATH: 9 October 1824 at "Boxwood Hall," Elizabethtown, New Jersey

THOMAS MIFFLIN

BIRTH: 10 January 1744 at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania*
OCCUPATION: Merchant
MILITARY SERVICE:
  Continental Army – 4 years
  Highest Rank – Major General
PUBLIC SERVICE:
  Continental Congress – 5 years
  Governor of Pennsylvania – 11 years
DEATH: 20 January 1800 at Lancaster, Pennsylvania

*In 1752 the English-speaking world adopted the Gregorian calendar, thereby adding 11 days to the date and changing New Year's Day from 25 March to 1 January. Thus Mifflin's date of birth was recorded in 1744 as 29 December 1743.

THOMAS FITZSIMONS

BIRTH: In 1741 in Ireland (exact date and place unknown)
OCCUPATION: Merchant
MILITARY SERVICE:
  Pennsylvania Militia – 3 years
  Highest Rank – Captain
PUBLIC SERVICE:
  Continental Congress – 2 years
  House of Reprsentatives – 6 years
DEATH: 26 August 1811 at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

DAVID BREARLY

BIRTH: 11 June 1745 at Spring Grove, New Jersey*
OCCUPATION: Lawyer
MILITARY SERVICE:
  Continental Army – 3 years
  Highest Rank – Lieutenant Colonel
  New Jersey Militia – 2 years
  Highest Rank – Colonel
PUBLIC SERVICE:
  Chief Justice, New Jersey Supreme Court – 10 years
  Federal District Judge – 2 years
DEATH: 16 August 1790 at Trenton, New Jersey

*In 1752 the English-speaking world adopted the Gregorian calendar, thereby adding 11 days to the date. Thus Brearly's date of birth was recorded in 1745 as 30 May.

GOUVENEUR MORRIS

BIRTH: 31 January 1752 at "Morrisania," Westchester County, New York
OCCUPATION: Lawyer and Merchant
MILITARY SERVICE:
  Volunteer, New York Militia – 2 years
PUBLIC SERVICE:
  Continental Congress – 2 years
  United States Senate – 3 years
  Assistant Superintendent of Finance – 4 years
  Commissioner to Great Britain – 1 year
  Minister Plenipotentiary to France – 3 years
DEATH: 6 November 1816 at Morrisania, New York

*In 1752 the English-speaking world adopted the Gregorian calendar, thereby adding 11 days to the date and officially changing New Year's Day from 25 March to 1 January. Thus Morris' date of birth was recorded in 1752 as 19 January 1751/2.

WILLIAM JACKSON

BIRTH: 9 March 1759 at Cumberland, England
OCCUPATION: Merchant and Lawyer
MILITARY SERVICE:
  Continental Army – 7 years
  Highest Rank – Major
PUBLIC SERVICE:
  Assistant Secretary at War – 2 years
  Personal Secretary to the President – 3 years
  Surveyor of Customs – 7 years
DEATH: 17 December 1828 at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Chapter 7

PREPARED SPEECHES

THE CONSTITUTION

A HOPE

A FREEDOM

A CALL

A MISSION

A VISION

Speeches provided by the U.S. Bicentennial of the Constitution Committee.

THE CONSTITUTION: A HOPE

America has an instinct for hope – and a heritage for it. It has a history – in the face of defeat – of audacious, irrepressible faith.

Valley Forge was proof.

At Valley Forge men were freezing. We can imagine the air hollow, the lively sound of a bird breaking unreal stillness, the echo of its song alternately irritating and heartbreaking to the remaining few men who weren't sure if they wanted to live or die.

But they refused NOT to believe.

Even as George Washington knelt in the snow to pray for his troops in despair, he never gave up hope. On December 23, 1777, he wrote: "We have this day no less than 2,873 men in camp unfit for duty because they are barefooted and otherwise naked...Numbers are still obliged to sit all night by the fires..." Yet his faith held. He was to later say, "It is impossible to govern the world without God. He must be worse that an infidel that lacks faith..."

Sorrow is a leveler; it strips us of our presumptions, and exposes us as mere men, but dust. A national sorrow united us in startling recognition of our common bonds of humanity of need and loss and suffering – and it unites us in hope. It challenges us to a bolstered, determined faith.

Valley Forge was this leveler, this catalyst for hope, for faith. We staked our country's beginnings out of that defeat. You don't forget starvation shared; frostbite leaves its scar, neglect its mark. Pretensions are irrelevant when tomorrow is questionable; poses are mere madness. You either give up, or you strike out, impowered by faith – to win.

Our country came into being out of that kind of steel-resolve. From the raw tragedy of that hard winter of Valley Forge, we have a heritage of hope to live up to, a torch to carry on. Our forefathers were men who through suffering and failure were made stronger, more committed in hope, faith in God, and belief in their principles than ever.

In that hard winter of 1777-78, the 11,000 men of the American Revolutionary Army under George Washington were suffering starvation, sickness and cold. The soldiers were bitter with betrayal and defeat. Outbreaks of mutiny and desertion were not uncommon. Supplies did not come. But they did NOT give up.

The power supposed by the Articles of Confederation was blatantly impotent. Washington and his young lieutenant, John Marshall, who later became a Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, and one of the leading spokesman of the ratification of the Constitution, watched the ragged army in despair. They knew first hand, that the Articles had no power. There had been no binding authority to secure even the basic needs in food, clothing and supplies for the nation's army. If there had been doubts before, Valley Forge was dramatic evidence no one could question. This must never happen again. A UNITED states was imperative.

Minds were strangely clear in that stark Pennsylvania landscape. As soldiers stood huddled in the snow over flickering fires, waiting for men they had counted on to come, the moment seemed to cry out for reason. Men are fallible, they told themselves. Laws are needed to protect people from falling victim to one another, and to themselves. James Madison would later write in *The Federalist*, "If men were angels, no government would be necessary."

In the penetrating cold, the disgrace of this failed commitment from the states to send supplies hurt as much as the frostbite on their hands and feet. Deserted: the cruelty demanded justice in the frailest heart. It gave fight to their will to live. This must never happen again. America must hold together – as one people.

Their land was divided. A strong central government was mandatory. The loosely structured confederation of states was a failure. This "firm league of friendship" of the thirteen independent states, under a tacitly held umbrella of general interest, had neither common philosophy, nor force of authority effective enough to direct and control action. As a result, there could be no pride, no allegiance – no love of country – to prevent this shameful abandonment of the nation's fighting men at Valley Forge.

Years later, a meeting of thirteen states, minus Rhode Island, would take place on September 17, 1787, in Philadelphia, not far from these humiliations of Valley Forge. The Articles had been ineffective as both domestic and international policy. Radical change was necessary. A whole new law, a written constitution, was formed – an experimental hypothesis that gave the people the right to govern themselves. Colonial interests of the past would be put aside. The parochial attitudes, which had produced a startling ambiguity of loyalties, had rendered the states inbred in their interests, and had weakened all hope of creating a strong union.

The thirteen states, with their overriding sense of individual state sovereignty, could not work as a team – as a union. There was no sense of belonging. The thought remained that no single person, no individual state, had felt responsible for the freezing soldier at Valley Forge. The tyranny of self-interest – the neglect of the needs and rights of the general welfare – had riddled the fledgling American republic, and even threatened to destroy it.

The outcry for change resulted in the Constitutional Convention. Forty-two of the fifty-five delegates, in a country of barely three million people, met for four, hot summer months to produce an experiment in government – the United States Constitution – that is only rivaled in historical significance by the Ten Commandments and the Magna Carta.

The founders were, primarily, practical men, and yet men who were not unacquainted with the philosophies and governments of ancient civilizations; they were careful students of the classics. They had a world view. They did not plan just a nationalistic document. It was to be a clear, logical document of not only American rights, but HUMAN rights. This was to be a body of timeless principles drawn on the premise of absolute laws for all people, directed by, as James Madison said, "...a finger of that almighty hand which so frequently...extended to our relief."

The Constitution was, above all, an ideology. It represented the fervent belief of our forefathers that allegiance to God and to human dignity transcended state and nation – that the fundamental supporters of government were natural law, ground in nature, and binding to all of human nature. It was to be, as John Jay, the First Chief Justice, said, "...Those great and equal rights of human nature...the rights of conscience and private judgment..." The Constitution, with its underlying premise of universal need defied the tenets of collectivism, and fulfilled the Aristotelian concept of individualism.

In giving power to the people as individuals, the Constitution both presupposed personal responsibility, and mandated civic duty and education, as the elemental mechanisms to successful operation of this unique organism of governing. Informed participation and dedicated citizenry would remain critical to its vitality.

The Constitution is the oldest, still-governing written instrument of government in the world. In its 200th year, it's staying power has been predicted on its history of uncompromising support of human rights, enforced for the first time in history by an unprecedented code of governing, enforceable laws. It was axiomatic to the American constitution that the creation of a nation, though of central importance, was second to God, and to the divinely ordained rights of all mankind. An egalitarian respect for the dignity of ALL people was the centerpiece to the founders' philosophy.

Within this constituted framework of separation of powers and a system of checks and balances, the bedrock precepts of freedom were firmly secured. The framers continued to fight for their document as not just an answer to American need, but of human need. It was MANKIND'S cry for justice, of the deepest hopes from the Dark Ages through the Enlightenment, for a society free from the abuses of authority, for a society that would be economically stable.

Washington and Marshall, standing in the snows of Valley Forge, saw that these human rights were being abused by the Articles of the Confederation. Their federation of states was not serving its own citizens. They knew that a country is doomed not based on the natural laws of God, but when one's fellow man is disregarded or mistreated, and when allegiance has no personal call. A people steeped in self-interest – with no obligation to their country, and no sense of moral responsibility to their neighbor – LOSE that country.

Washington saw his country being lost. In that cruel Pennsylvania winter, he looked at his ragged army and he saw the fundamental truths and values that constitute life desecrated. He saw that a country not obligated to protect its people is subject to the vilest form of oppression – self-interest, at the expense of one's fellow man.

On September 17, 1787, the United States Constitution was signed. On June 21, 1788, the Constitution was ratified. It was the first political system with power from "we the people," unleashing an unparalleled creative energy. No country has ever had a greater degree of well-being. George Washington said of the Constitution that it is "sacredly obligatory to us all," and that its existence "constitutes (us) as one people." He knew that preserving this document of freedom demanded our dedicated support, and our profound understanding.

It is this understanding of the Constitution that the Commission on the Bicentennial plans as its key objective to provide. Under the American Constitution, we are called first and foremost as our brother's keeper. In enjoyment of our liberties, and the rights and privileges of citizenship, a compelling commitment to the security of the happiness and freedom of our fellow man must be maintained – at all costs.

We are here today, summoned by our forefathers, to be vigilant revolutionaries of the American flame of freedom: if need be questioning, if need be examining, changing – but ever faithful to the human rights of all people, as decreed by our United States Constitution.

As George Washington knew, standing isolated at Valley Forge, and later said, "Government is not mere advice; it is authority, with power to enforce its laws." America would hold together, one people, "...one nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all."

THE CONSTITUTION: A FREEDOM

The Constitution represented the greatest leap forward in human history in encouraging human freedom and creativity, and – most important to each child of God – assuring freedom of worship. Yet, just as people take for granted the invaluable heritage of parents and ancestors, many Americans fail to appreciate the Constitution and the benefits it has bestowed.

The Constitution is approaching its 200th birthday. This creates a challenge for all of us – both for Americans and for citizens of other nations. The principles of the American Constitution are founded on the goal to provide liberty and justice under law for ALL people. The very definition of America is housed in its mixture of peoples and cultures and races. America is INCLUSIVE, not exclusive. We have only a short time until we commemorate the 200th birthday of the beginning of the Constitutional Convention in May of 1987. We have only a short time until we commemorate the signing of the Constitution on September 17, 1987. We need dedicated, focused help to launch a critical spiritual revival in our land – a revival based on the godly tenants of the United States Constitution.

Fortunately, we now have a distinguished commission in place, chaired by Chief Justice Warren E. Burger. Never have we had such a commission chaired by such a prestigious national leader. Chief Justice Warren Burger understands, as most of the audience here today do, the divine origins of the Constitution. Speaking at the National Archives, July 2, 1976, he said, "The founders, such as James Madison, recognized 'the finger of the Almighty hand.' " This supports George Washington's declaration: "No people can be bound to acknowledge and adore the invisible hand which conducts the affairs of men more than those in the United States."

Furthermore, these founders recognized that religion, morality and virtue were essential to the success of the republic. George Washington, for example, pronounced that "religion and morality" are indispensable foundations for "political prosperity." Some humanists believe that ethical systems are a satisfactory substitute for religion. But even on a practical basis, (totally aside from the basis of truth), that will not work for a society. Will and Ariel Durant, who devoted a lifetime to the study of human history from early societies to modern times, concluded: "There is no significant example in history...of a society successfully maintaining moral life without the aid of religion."

Consequently, the best way to help achieve the primary goal of the Commision – to educate people about the Constitution – is for all of us as leaders and citizens to make a strong personal commitment to helping inspire people's interest in the Constitution. Understanding its guiding principles can be vital to our ability to function as free, creative people.

To help educate our citizens about the Constitution, we should study afresh the writings of the founders. We should also urge every organization to which we belong to plan lectures, seminars, and dramatic and musical presentations at local and national meetings.

Honoring the Constitution is every American's responsibility. Edmund Burke counseled, "The only thing necessary for the triumph of evil is for good men to do nothing." If we are ruled by philosophies we do not like, we share the blame. Let us begin today to study issues and candidates; work hard and early for those that merit our confidence; and each try to get ten to twenty unregistered people registered and educated about issues and voting.

America has an instinct and a heritage of hope. We are a people with a history of audacious, irrepressible faith, faith that anything is possible – with God's help.

Our forbearers were uncompromising in their belief that America was conceived by God's intervention. They believed that, "Unless the LORD build the house, those who build it labor in vain."

The time is right. America, as our President has said, is experiencing a rebirth of patriotism...of freedom and faith.

We have assembled here today, a great and powerful spiritual body. We are called to prayer; commissioned to celebrate our nation's foundations of faith. Our pilgrim fathers, with one heart and mind and spirit, were a people united on their knees in faith before God. May we do no less.

Let us leave today renewed in our convictions to maintain this nation "under God, with liberty and justice for ALL."

THE CONSTITUTION: A CALL

All of our fellow citizens asked to give the Constitution a special birthday present as it approaches the 200th anniversary of its signing on September 17, 1987.

We ask you to give it more of yourselves by participating more in the selection processs of government.

The Constitution is the synthesis of a free peoples' ethics, philosophy, and mechanics of politics, and is the most brilliant invention in the history of governance.

Born of the power and passion of the people, it should be honored by all the people with pride and passion and purpose... the purpose being to establish this moment as but the beginning of a national immersion in the precepts of its being.

The Constitution is based in the political election process. The Convention which created the Constitution was called by the states out of concern for commerce, war and peace, taxes, law and order, education, employment, human rights management, and property rights.

Delegates to the Convention were elected by the states. They were elected for reasons of personal qualifications or desires, or intensive involvement in local civic affairs, or because of their positions as Town or State elected or appointed officials. They were lawyers, farmers, merchants, soldiers, planters, and career politicians.

They brought to the Convention their own personal outlooks. Some were state officeholders whose duties made them miss many sessions. Some were opportunists who participated very little. Some attended every session. Some spoke much, others spoke little. Some were effective behind-the-scenes operators. Some had prejudices and fought for them; others tried to overcome their prejudices. But all together they represented the span of their constituents, like politicians in any era, including our own.

The Convention consisted of seventy-four elected delegates from twelve of the thirteen states. Fifty-five of them attended part or all of the Convention. Out of the crucible of their deliberations, based on an extraordinary amount of political experience and practical knowledge, blessed with an admixture of political and philosophical genius of a few, came our Constitution. It was signed by thirty-nine delegates, who then went to the raging wars of ratification debates, until final adoption by the ninth state on June 21, 1788.

The former delegates then went on to make the Constitution work. They participated. They were involved. Many of them ran for office. They were elected President, Senator, Representative. they were appointed Supreme Court Justice, Cabinet Secretary, Ambassador, Special Commissioner. They were elected State Governor, Legislator. They ran, they won, and they lost. They formed political parties and became leaders and activists in party affairs. They spent their lives making the Constitution work. All of them, in their own ways, even when they hotly opposed each other's ideas, proved out the validity of the Constitution that they had written.

Justice Learned Hand called the Constitution "the best political document ever made." The Congress of the United States, in a Joint Resolution, Public Law 82-261, February 29, 1952, designated September 17 as Citizenship Day, in commemoration of the signing of the Constitution, and in recognition of all citizens who have come of age, or have been naturalized during the year.

We note with sadness the truth of remarks made by President Bartlett Giamatti of Yale at the 1981 Commencement. He said, "What concerns me most today is the way we have disconnected ideas from power in America, and created for ourselves thoughtful citizens who disdain politics and politicans, when more than ever we need to value what politics and politicians can do, and when more than ever we need to recognize that the call to public life is one of the highest callings a society can make."

We hope that the years of the Bicentennial will uplift the status of participants in the political process. The framers themselves were also politicians of the highest order. Chief Justice Warren Burger, Chairman of the Bicentennial Commission, has made the theme of the commemoration "a history and civics lesson." A highly significant way of approaching this goal is through the speeches of candidates for public office. We can encourage all candidates for all offices – municipal, county, state and national – to make the Bicentennial of the Constitution a major and consistent theme in their speeches over the next three years. After all, it was the success of politics 200 hundred years ago that created the powerful framework of freedom in which all campaigns can still take place today.

THE CONSTITUTION: A MISSION

The Constitution was not a gift. The Constitution of the United States had to be fought for. It had a mission. It was to convert. Pass the flame. Push back frontiers. Born out of the wrenching grief and courage of Valley Forge, the Constitution would go on to produce what has come to be the oldest still-governing document in the world. The Revolution bought our freedom, but the Constitution let us keep it.

The American Constitution is our map – a graph of the unlimited powers of good possible when you're dealing with securing "the blessings of liberty." It is our strongest handle on truth, our bravest banner for peace. Americans sitting on subways, watching evening news, taking children to school, can trust it. It protects. No timid doctrine, its battle cry is an unflinching passion for tolerance, an insatiable hunger for freedom, and, most of all, an uncompromising demand for justice – a justice tempered with mercy towards our fellow man.

Justice is a response of nature. Our Declaration of Independence assures us, "that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their creator with certain unalienable rights..." Justice is the oldest cry of community, the deepest longing of the soul. Our rights as Americans have been secured. They have been won. But they are ours to lose, as well. To promote the general welfare may impinge on personal liberty. Governing, then, is both a necessity and liability. There must be carefully prescribed limits – power to govern, but structure to check the power.

Alexander Hamilton, as our strong defender of the federal courts to be created by the Constitution, said that the want of judicial power under the Articles of Confederation had been the central cause for defeat of that first effort of a Constitution. Yet Hamilton knew that all political power is "of an encroaching nature." An independent, constitutionally-bound judiciary is essential, in order to assure both the sovereignty of the people's will, and to protect the sanctity of the individual's rights.

This time it was going to be done right. Our Declaration of Independence had legislated the rights to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." There would be a system which authorized a striking balance of human rights and responsibilities; separation of powers to encourage both stability and change; a strong central government of diversity without fragmentation; equal protection under law; and a commitment to common defense. The Constitution would be what the people wanted. It was to be the most experimental, politically creative system since the Greeks; something the people dreamed up, something to make them happy – and something the people themselves made work. It would be the first political system in which the power flowed from the people to the state; a grant that "we the people" made for themselves – as Abraham Lincoln said, in his Address at Gettysburg, "that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom; and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

This meant that you were free to write, talk, pray, be listened to, understood, or not understood. You had the right to the "pursuit of happiness," but balanced by "liberty and justice for all." Responsibility for your neighbor's rights would count, too; you were a brotherhood.

An unprecedented creative energy was spawned out of such constitutional freedoms. The American people, energized by freedom from fear and restraint, unleashed unparalleled developments in science, technology, and the arts. The horizon, not partisan, not national, concerned the world. Embracive, it concerned the quality of people's lives everywhere: "Give me your tired, your poor, your huddled masses, yearning to breathe free..."

The best minds went into politics. The framers were good political scientists; dedicated students of the world's philosophies, civilizations and governments. They knew themselves as part of a grand exodus of people across history who have rejected bondage, and sought control over the rights to their lives. They were intent on prescribing a manifesto of universal values that plumbed the depth of human need and possibility, closely ascribing to their common belief in the dignity of man, and to the divine destiny they each envisioned for the new land of America.

In that hot summer of 1787, as the representatives met in Philadelphia to write the Constitution of the United States, Benjamin Franklin, at eighty-one, said to the struggling convention representatives, about to disband in confusion, "I have lived, Sir, a long time, and the longer I live, the more convincing proofs I see of this truth: that God governs in the affairs of man." George Washington spoke in his inaugural address to Congress as first president of our nation, "No people can be bound to acknowledge and adore the invisible hand which conducts the affairs of men more than the people of the United States." This spirit of divine destiny, and sense of values on which our country was founded, is what the bicentennial celebration of the United States Constitution is all about.

Fifty-five men in a country of barely three million people produced a document over 200 years ago in Philadelphia that still governs a nation of 250 million people. This is a triumph that demands our undivided attention, and entitles our personal, wholehearted allegiance.

Our history summons us to not forfeit those laws on which our nation was founded. The Bicentennial would remind us who we were, and who we are – remind us of our identity. If you forget who you were, you don't know who you are.

We must then guard our freedoms well – and we must guard against indifference. Intolerance once our enemy, the enemy is now indifference. Indifference can defeat us, as elements antagonistic to our God-given American ideals marshall in concentrated force. We cannot afford this. We are pledged to get back to that raw, unabashed love of country our forefathers had. As President Reagan said, "Private values must be at the heart of public policies."

Fundamental to the Constitution was this personal sense of values, worked out into a strong sense of civic responsibility and commitment. Choices were made, risk was taken – and a price was paid. Heroes are born only when men choose to be free, to become involved. It is always in the end a value one person chooses over another.

An eighteenth-century German poet-historian, Friedrich von Schiller, whose idealism and hatred of tyranny were a powerful influence in modern German literature, said, "There's no such thing as chance; and what seems merest accident Springs from deepest source of destiny."

There was no chance to America. There was no compromising. It was forged through fight and faith. It has to be maintained that way.

THE CONSTITUTION: A VISION

The Constitution of the United States is a history of vision, a personal meaning for every American citizen. It is as intimate as the air we breathe. It is our individual declaration of privilege. As George Washington said, "Interwoven is the love of liberty with every ligament of the heart." It is a trust, and vision is the key. If we fail to grasp that, we fail.

It was a peculiar group that gathered to form the Constitution. Something else was burning in their minds; something not quite of the world they knew stirred their hearts. They understood some truth they couldn't yet prove; they reached for a reality it seemed at times only they recognized. But they refused to be defeated; they struck out confidently against ridicule and discouragement, under an audacious banner of faith: "...one nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all."

And they spelled out that liberty and justice to the people. The vision was meant to materialize. Not rest in an ivory tower. It was meant to be a righteousness worked out into practical, everyday life: justice tempered with mercy, peace assured by defense, and equality claimed by the sheer right of being common men. The vision was humility, that being men we share all things: we are one.

But our rights cannot remain without protection. Our prerogatives are not without responsibility. Our immunity did not come without affliction. Patrick Henry, champion of the Bill of Rights of the Constitution, cautioned, "If we wish to be free; if we mean to preserve inviolate those inestimable privileges for which we have been long contending...we must fight!"

The Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution assures us that, "No State shall...abridge the privileges of immunities of citizen of the United States." We have the grant of an advantaged people. Such favor shields, and it is a luxury, but it also insulates. It can isolate and separate, so that blinded, we lose our way – our way to seeing the needs of others.

We are called to be alert champions of our American heritage. Our children would be taught remembrance in schools through lessons of history; at home trained to appreciate a security too easily taken for granted. As citizens and parents, we personally are enlisted to watchfulness of a legacy that does not neglect deprivation of other peoples. Not hungry, we in our ignorance can starve others; indulged, we can breed ignorance. The assumption of unearned liberty could be the Achilles' heel of American spirit.

The celebration of the Bicentennial of the United States Constitution is planned as an attention-getter to the freedoms we cannot afford to forget. Our charge is to boldly claim that vision of the Founding Fathers, renew it in ourselves, then having caught the fire of it, bring it with missionary zeal and outright shameless love to the people.

To neglect this, to allow a bankruptcy of spirit – that spirit of fight and faith we applaud in our forefathers – would threaten the United States, and, in turn, the world. The Bicentennial of the Constitution is planned as a protection against this.

As a reminder to our freedoms, and to our values, in the next three years the Commission on the Bicentennial of the United States Constitution, in allegiance with the government and the private sector, will pay homage to the founding principles of America. The teachings of the Constitution will be played out before the American public in every sector of American life. We will celebrate a national salute to our founding fathers, and to the signers of the United States Constitution. It is an incalculable debt we owe. Our ancestors protected this future we enjoy in peace today. This country is a trust they left us – to pass on. Our investments then must be sound.

This land is our land, but only in custody. We have a legacy of liberty. Granted this peculiar largess of benefits, we have a mandate of duty. Our defense is assured, justice is established, domestic tranquility and general welfare promised – and even such priceless intangibles as the Preamble's "blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity" are bestowed.

But in producing freedom, these unique advantages do not release us from accountability. The eighteenth-century British statesman, Edmund Burke, whose famous speeches advocated wiser policies in America, counsels us, "The only thing necessary for the triumph of evil is for good men to do nothing." We are not exempt from obligation. Given this rank of freeman, the license to pursue our own individual happiness, a franchise to speak and think and act, unfettered by restraint or threat, we are not exempt from a contract – an imperative for commitment. There are conditions on our privilege of freedom.

Honored by this birthright of American citizenship, our behavior must match. Deference is due to the endowment of liberty. Our individual conduct – the daily choices we make, the focus we take, the objectives we set – are the only true guarantee to our nation's destiny, to a safe future for our children, and for their children. We have a heritage of faith to live up to, a torch to carry on.

We have inheritance that makes us answerable to one another. An amalgam of people, we are yet one people, Americans – "One country, one constitution, one destiny." (Daniel Webster).

Our badge of privilege as an American citizen, though private, is not exclusive. A strong advocate of this, Andrew Jackson said, "...all exclusive privileges are granted at the expense of the public, which ought to receive a fair equivalent."

Liberty is a good for all mankind across the ages. Dante affirms that, "The human race is in the best condition when it has the greatest degree of liberty." And yet liberty remains ultimately at the mercy of man. John Marshall, our fourth Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, who raised the power of both the Supreme Court and of the Constitution with his sage interpretations, left us with this timeless warning: "The people made the Constitution, and the people can unmake it. It is the creature of their own will, and lives only by their will."

America was handed to us in good condition. The Bicentennial plans to keep it that way.

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Chapter 8

STATEMENTS AND QUOTATIONS

PRECEPT OF CIVILIAN CONTROL

It has been said that the central feature of the Constitution with respect to the Nation's military forces was the establishment of civilian control in Government over the military branches. The Constitution conceived of the Army as an agency of civil power, to be organized and disciplined with that purpose in view. This precept of civilian control of the military establishment has endured throughout the history of the United States. The present national security structure reflects a proper and continuing concern with this precept. The statutory eligibility requirements for the Secretary of Defense, the principal Presidential assistant for the military establishment, include the proviso that "...A person may not be appointed as Secretary of Defense within 10 years after relief from active duty as a commissioned officer of a regular component of an armed force." (Title 10, U.S. Code, Sec. 133.)

THE EXECUTIVE AND NATIONAL SECURITY

Constitutional Basis

Article II of the Constitution, the article which deals with the executive, is in many respects not specific. However, there are certain elements of Article II which have particular and specific application to national security. Section 2 provides, *interalia,* that "the President shall be Commander in Chief of the Army and the Navy of the United States, and of the militia of the Several States when called into the actual Service of the United States..." Again, in this section "...he [the President] may require the Opinion, in writing, of the principal Officer in each of the executive Departments, upon any Subject relating to the Duties of their respective Offices..." These, plus the Presidential treaty-making authority, appointive power and requirements to "...take Care that the Laws be faithfully executed..." (sec. 3), are the principal constitutional bases for Presidential activity in the general field of national security.

SEAL OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES UNITED STATES
UNITED STATES SENATE
E PLURIBUS UNUM
SEAL SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES

STATUTORY ROLE OF THE ARMY

Appendix A. Statutory of Role of the Army, Title 10, United States Code, Section 3062

"(a) It is the intent of Congress to provide an Army that is capable, in conjunction with the other armed forces, of–

(1) preserving the peace and security, and providing for the defense, of the United States, the Territories, Commonwealths, and possessions, and any areas occupied by the United States;

(2) supporting the national policies;

(3) implementing the national objectives; and

(4) overcoming any nations responsible for aggressive acts that imperil the peace and security of the United States.

"(b) In general, the Army, within the Department of the Army, includes land combat and service forces and such aviation and water transport as may be organic, therein. It shall be organized, trained, and equipped primarily for prompt and sustained combat incident to operations on land. It is responsible for the preparation of land forces necessary for the effective prosecution of war except as otherwise assigned and, in accordance with integrated joint mobilization plans, for the expansion of the peacetime components of the Army to meet the needs of war.

"(c) The Army consists of–

(1) the Regular Army, the Army National Guard of the United States, the Army National Guard while in the service of the United States, and the Army Reserve; and

(2) all persons appointed or enlisted in, or conscripted into, the Army without component.

"(d) The organized peace establishment of the Army consists of all–

(1) military organizations of the Army with their installations and supporting and auxiliary elements, including combat, training, administrative and logistic elements; and

(2) members of the Army, including those not assigned to units; necessary to form the basis for a complete and immediate mobilization for the national defense in the event of a national emergency."

Source: Department of the Army Manual.

1775

WASHINGTON'S VIEWS ON PREPAREDNESS

Preparedness was always an essential part of Washington's foreign policy. His attitude is shown by a letter written to McHenry in 1782, when it was a question whether peace would come without further fighting:

"If we are wise, let us prepare for the worst. There is nothing, which will so soon produce a speedy and honorable peace, as a state of preparation for war; and we must either do this, or lay our account for a patched up inglorious peace, after all the toil, blood, and treasure we have spent."

Being criticized for insisting upon a well-organized militia, Washington defined his policy as follows:

"Nor can such arrangements, with such objects, be exposed to the censure or jealousy of the warmest friends of republican government.

They are incapable of abuse in the hands of the militia, who ought to possess a pride in being the depository of the force of the Republic, and may be trained to a degree of energy equal to every military exigency of the United States. But it is an inquiry which can not be too solemnly pursued, whether the act 'more effectualy to provide for the national defense by establishing an uniform militia throughout the United States' has organized them so as to produce their full effect."

Upon national defense Washington said in 1793:

"I can not recommend to your notice measures for the fulfillment of our duties to the rest of the world without again pressing upon you the necessity of placing ourselves in a condition of complete defense and of exacting from them the fulfillment of their duties toward us.

The United States ought not to indulge a persuasion that, contrary to the order of human events, they will forever keep at a distance those painful appeals to arms with which the history of every other nation abounds.

There is a rank due to the United States among nations which will be withheld, if not absolutely lost, by the reputation of weakness. If we desire to avoid insult, we must be able to repel it; if we desire to secure peace, one of the most powerful instruments of our rising prosperity, it must be known, that we are at all times ready for war."

E PLURIBUS UNUM

GEORGE WASHINGTON'S VIEWS

THE CONSTITUTION

. . . in a free, and republican Government, you cannot restrain the voice of the multitude; every Man will speak as he thinks, or more properly without thinking, consequently will judge of Effects without attending to the Causes.

To Marquis de Lafayette
September 1, 1778
Writings, Vol. 12, p. 383

. . . The Power under the Constitution will always be in the People. It is entrusted for certain defined purposes, and for a certain limited period, to representatives of their own choosing; and whenever it is executed contrary to their Interest, or not agreeable to their wishes, their Servants can, and undoubtedly will be, recalled.

To Bushrod Washington
November 10, 1787
Writings, Vol. 29, p. 311

. . . As, under the smiles of Heaven, America is indebted for freedom and independence rather to the joint exertions of the citizens of the several States, in which it may be your boast to have borne no inconsiderable share, than to the conduct of the Commander in chief, so is she indebted for their support rather to a continuation of those exertions, than to the prudence and ability manifested in the exercise of the powers delegated to the President of the United States.

To the Inhabitants of Providence
August 18, 1790
Writings, Vol. 31, p. 94

. . . Whatever my own opinion may be on this, or any other subject, interesting to the Community at large, it always has been, and will continue to be, my earnest desire to learn, and to comply, as far as is consistent, with the public sentiment; but it is on great occasions only, and after time has been given for cool and deliberate reflection, that the real voice of the people can be known.

To Edward Carrington
May 1, 1796
Writings, Vol. 35, p. 31

THE ARMY AND THE COUNTRY

. . . I am persuaded and as fully convinced, as I am of any one fact that has happened, that our Liberties must of necessity be greatly hazarded, if not entirely lost, if their defense is left to any but a permanent standing Army, I mean one to exist during the War.

To the President of Congress
September 2, 1776
Writings, Vol. 6, p. 5

. . . The Army and the Country have a mutual Dependence upon each other and it is of the last Importance that their several Duties should be so regulated and enforced as to produce not only the greatest Harmony and good Understanding but the truest Happiness and Comfort to each.

To Thomas Wharton, Junior
March 7, 1778
Writings, Vol. 11, p. 47

. . . I shall still continue to exert all my influence and authority to prevent the interruption of that harmony which is so essential, and which has so generally prevailed between the Army and the Inhabitants of the Country; and I need scarcely add that in doing this, I shall give every species of countenance and support to the execution of the Laws of the Land.

To Governor George Clinton
October 19, 1782
Writings, Vol. 25, p. 277

WHAT THEY THOUGHT OF WASHINGTON

PATRICK HENRY

When Patrick Henry was asked whom he thought the greatest man in Congress, he replied: "If you speak of eloquence, Mr. Rutledge of South Carolina is by far the greatest orator, but if you speak of solid information and sound judgment, Colonel Washington is unquestionably the greatest man on that floor."

ALEXANDER HAMILTON

"The general I always revered and loved ever since I knew him, but in this instance he rose superior to himself. Every lip dwells on his praise, for even his pretended friends (for none dare to acknowledge themselves his enemies) are obliged to croak it forth."

THOMAS JEFFERSON

"On the whole, his character was, in its mass, perfect, in nothing bad, in few points indifferent; and it may truly be said that never did nature and fortune combine more perfectly to make a man great, and to place him in the same constellation with whatever worthies have merited from man an everlasting remembrance. For his was the singular destiny and merit of leading the armies of his country successfully through an arduous war, for the establishment of its independence; of conducting its councils through the birth of a government, new in its forms and principles, until it had settled down into a quiet and orderly train; and of scrupulously obeying the laws through the whole of his career, civil and military, of which the history of the world furnishes no other example."

GENERAL NATHANAEL GREEN

"His Excellency, General, has arrived amongest us, universally admired. Joy was visible on every countenance, and it seemed as if the spirit of conquest breathed through the whole army. I hope we shall be taught, to copy his example, and to prefer the love of liberty, in this time of public danger to all the soft pleasures of domestic life, and support ourselves with manly fortitude amidst all the dangers and hardships that attend a state of war. And I doubt not, under the General's wise direction, we shall establish such excellent order and strictness of discipline as to invite victory to attend him wherever he goes."

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Appendix A

UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION AND AMENDMENTS

The Constitution of the United States of America

Preamble

We the People of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

Article I

Section 1. All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

Section 2. The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several states, and the electors in each state shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the state legislature.

No person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that state in which he shall be chosen.

Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several states which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons. The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each state shall have at least one representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the state of New Hampshire shall be entitled to choose three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New York six, New Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five, and Georgia three.

When vacancies happen in the representation from any state, the executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

The House of Representatives shall choose their Speaker and other officers; and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

Section 3. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each state, chosen by the legislature thereof, for six years and each Senator shall have one vote.

Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the Senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year, of the second class at the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third class at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one-third may be chosen every second year; and if vacancies happen by resignation, or otherwise, during the recess of the legislature of any state, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

No person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that state for which he shall be chosen.

The Vice President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.

The Senate shall choose their other officers, and also a President pro tempore, in the absence of the

Vice President, or when he shall exercise the office of President of the United States.

The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside: And no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present.

Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust or profit under the United States: but the party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment and punishment, according to law.

Section 4. The times, places and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives, shall be prescribed in each state by the legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing Senators.

The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

Section 5. Each House shall be the judge of the elections, returns and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner, and under such penalties as each House may provide.

Each House may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behaviour, and, with the concurrence of two-thirds, expel a member.

Each House shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the members of either House on any question shall, at the desire of one-fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

Neither House, during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two Houses shall be sitting.

Section 6. The Senators and Representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the Treasury of the United States. They shall in all cases, except treason, felony and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective Houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either House, they shall not be questioned in any other place.

No Senator or Representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States, shall be a member of either House during his continuance in office.

Section 7. All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other bills.

Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it becomes a law, be presented to the President of the United States; if he approves he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it, with his objections to that House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such reconsideration two thirds of that House shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other House, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two thirds of that House, it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both Houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each House respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

Every order, resolution, or vote to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

Section 8. The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

To borrow money on the credit of the United States;

To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes;

To establish a uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States;

To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures;

To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States;

To establish post offices and post roads;

To promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing for limited times to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries;

To constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court;

To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offenses against the law of nations;

To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water;

To raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years;

To provide and maintain a Navy;

To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces;

To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections and repel invasions;

To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining, the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the states respectively, the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress;

To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever, over such District (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular states, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of the government of the United States, and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the legislature of the state in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dock-yards, and other needful buildings;—and

To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

Section 9. The migration or importation of such persons as any of the states now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

The privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it.

No bill of attainder or ex post facto law shall be passed.

No capitation, or other direct, tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration herein before directed to be taken.

No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any state.

No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one state over those of another: nor shall vessels bound to, or from, one state, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

No money shall be drawn from the Treasury, but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States: And no person holding any office of profit or trust under them, shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title, of any kind whatever, from any King, Prince, or foreign state.

Section 10. No state shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make any thing but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, ex post facto law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.

No state shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws: and the net produce of all duties and imposts, laid by any state on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the Treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress.

No state shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops, or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another state, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

Article II

Section 1. The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and, together with the Vice President, chosen for the same term, be elected, as follows:

Each state, shall appoint, in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the state may be entitled in the Congress; but no Senator or Representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.

The electors shall meet in their respective states, and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same state with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each; which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately choose by ballot one of them for President; and if no person have a majority, then from the five highest on the list the said House shall in like manner choose the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by states, the representation from each state having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two thirds of the states, and a majority of all the states shall be necessary to a choice.

In every case, after the choice of the President, the person having the greatest number of votes of the electors shall be the Vice President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal votes, the Senate shall choose from them by ballot the Vice President.

The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes; which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

No person except a natural born citizen, or a citizen of the United States, at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice President, and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the President and Vice President, declaring what officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

The President shall, at stated times, receive for his services, a compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

Before he enters on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation:—"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States."

Section 2. The President shall be commander in chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States, when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices, and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offenses against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law: but the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session.

Section 3. He shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them, with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

Section 4. The President, Vice President and all civil officers of the United States, shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of, treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

Article III

Section 1. The judicial power of the United States, shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges, both of the supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behaviour, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services, a compensation, which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

Section 2. The judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority;—to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls;—to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction;—to controversies to which the United States shall be a party;—to controversies between two or more states;—between a state and citizens of another state;—between citizens of different states,—between citizens of the same state claiming lands under grants of different states, and between a state, or the citizens thereof, and foreign states, citizens or subjects.

In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a state shall be a party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned, the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions, and under such regulations as the Congress shall make.

The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the state where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any state, the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

Section 3. Treason against the United States, shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture except during the life of the person attained.

Article IV

Section 1. Full faith and credit shall be given in each state to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other state. And the Congress may by general laws prescribe the manner in which such acts, records and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

Section 2. The citizens of each state shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several states.

A person charged in any state with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another state, shall on demand of the executive authority of the state from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the state having jurisdiction of the crime.

No person held to service or labour in one state, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labour, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labour may be due.

Section 3. New states may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new state shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other state; nor any state be formed by the junction of two or more states, or parts of states, without the consent of the legislature of the states concerned as well as of the Congress.

The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular state.

Section 4. The United States shall guarantee to every state in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion; and on application of the legislature, or of the executive (when the legislature cannot be convened) against domestic violence.

Article V

The Congress, whenever two thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or on the application of the legislatures of two thirds of the several states, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress; provided that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the Ninth Section of the First Article; and that no state, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

Article VI

All debts contracted and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution, as under the Confederation.

This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof; and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every state shall be bound thereby, any thing in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several state legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several states, shall be bound by oath or affirmation, to support this Constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

Article VII

The ratification of the conventions of nine states shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the states so ratifying the same.

Done in convention by the unanimous consent of the states present the seventeenth day of September in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty seven and of the independence of the United States of America the twelfth. In witness whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names,

Go. Washington—*Presid't*,
and deputy from Virginia
Attest William Jackson *Secretary*

New Hampshire

John Langdon
Nicholas Gilman

Massachusetts

Nathaniel Gorham
Rufus King

Connecticut

Wm. Saml. Johnson
Roger Sherman

New York

Alexander Hamilton

New Jersey

Wil: Livingston
Wm. Paterson
David Brearley
Jona: Dayton

Pennsylvania

B Franklin
Thos. FitzSimons
Thomas Mifflin
Jared Ingersoll
Robt Morris
James Wilson
Geo. Clymer
Gouv Morris

Delaware

Geo: Read
Richard Bassett
Gunning Bedford jun
Jaco: Broom
John Dickinson

Maryland

James McHenry
Danl Carroll
Dan of St Thos. Jenifer

Virginia

John Blair—
James Madison Jr.

North Carolina

Wm. Blount
Hu Williamson
Richd. Dobbs Spaight

South Carolina

J. Rutledge
Charles Pinckney
Charles Cotesworth Pinckney
Pierce Butler

Georgia

William Few
Abr Baldwin

Amendments

Article I

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

Article II

A well-regulated militia, being necessary to the security of a free state, the right of the people to keep and bear arms, shall not be infringed.

Article III

No soldier shall, in time of peace be quartered in any house, without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

Article IV

Tht right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

Article V.

No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a Grand Jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offense to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

Article VI

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the state and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense.

Article VII

In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury, shall be otherwise reexamined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

Article VIII

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

Article IX

The enumeration in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

Article X

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states, are reserved to the states respectively, or to the people.

Article XI

The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by citizens of another state, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign state.

Article XII

The electors shall meet in their respective states, and vote by ballot for President and Vice President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same state with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice President, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate;—The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted;—The person having the greatest number of votes for President, shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by states, the representation from each state having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the states, and a majority of all the states shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President.—The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice President, shall be the Vice President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed, and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice President of the United States.

Article XIII

Section 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

Section 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Article XIV

Section 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the state wherein they reside. No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any state deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

Section 2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several states according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each state, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a state, or the members of the legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such state, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such state.

Section 3. No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any state, who, having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any state legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any state, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may by a vote of two-thirds of each house, remove such disability.

Section 4. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any state shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations and claims shall be held illegal and void.

Section 5. The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

Article XV

Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

Section 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Article XVI

The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes, from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several states, and without regard to any census or enumeration.

Article XVII

Section 1. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each state, elected by the people thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote. The electors in each state shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the state legislature.

Section 2. When vacancies happen in the representation of any state in the Senate, the executive authority of such state shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies: *Provided*, That the legislature of any state may empower the executive thereof to make temporary appointments until the people fill the vacancies by election as the legislature may direct.

Section 3. This amendment shall not be so construed as to affect the election or term of any Senator chosen before it becomes valid as part of the Constitution.

Article XVIII

Section 1. After one year from the ratification of this article the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes is hereby prohibited.

Section 2. The Congress and the several states shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Section 3. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of the several states, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the states by the Congress.

Article XIX

Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex.

Section 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Article XX

Section 1. The terms of the President and Vice President shall end at noon on the 20th day of January, and the terms of Senators and Representatives at noon on the 3d day of January, of the years in which such terms would have ended if this article had not been ratified; and the terms of their successors shall then begin.

Section 2. The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall begin at noon on the 3d day of January, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

Section 3. If, at the time fixed for the beginning of the term of the President, the President elect shall have died, the Vice President elect shall become President. If a President shall not have been chosen before the time fixed for the beginning of his term, or if the President elect shall have failed to qualify, then the Vice President elect shall act as President until a President shall have qualified; and the Congress may by law provide for the case wherein neither a President elect nor a Vice President elect shall have qualified, declaring who shall then act as President, or the manner in which one who is to act shall be selected, and such person shall act accordingly until a President or Vice President shall have qualified.

Section 4. The Congress may by law provide for the case of the death of any of the persons from whom the House of Representatives may choose a President whenever the right of choice shall have devolved upon them, and for the case of the death of any of the persons from whom the Senate may choose a Vice President whenever the right of choice shall have devolved upon them.

Section 5. Sections 1 and 2 shall take effect on the 15th day of October following the ratification of this article.

Section 6. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several states within seven years from the date of its submission.

Article XXI

Section 1. The eighteenth article of amendment to the Constitution of the United States is hereby repealed.

Section 2. The transportation or importation into any state, territory, or possession of the United States for delivery or use therein of intoxicating liquors, in violation of the laws thereof, is hereby prohibited.

Section 3. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by conventions in the several states, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the states by the Congress.

Article XXII

Section 1. No person shall be elected to the office of the President more than twice, and no person who has held the office of President, or acted as President, for more than two years of a term to which some other person was elected President shall be elected to the office of the President more than once. But this Article shall not apply to any person holding the office of President when this Article was proposed by the Congress, and shall not prevent any person who may be holding the office of President, or acting as President, during the term within which this Article becomes operative from holding the office of President or acting as President during the remainder of such term.

Section 2. This Article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several states within seven years from the date of its submission to the states by the Congress.

Article XXIII

Section 1. The District constituting the seat of government of the United States shall appoint in such manner as the Congress may direct:

A number of electors of President and Vice President equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives in Congress to which the District would be entitled if it were a state, but in no event more than the least populous state; they shall be in addition to those appointed by the states, but they shall be considered, for the purposes of the election of President and Vice President, to be electors appointed by a state; and they shall meet in the District and perform such duties as provided by the twelfth article of amendment.

Section 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Article XXIV

Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote in any primary or other election for President or Vice President, for electors for President or Vice President, or for Senator or Representative in Congress, shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any State by reason of failure to pay any poll tax or other tax.

Section 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Article XXV

Section 1. In case of the removal of the President from office or of his death or resignation, the Vice President shall become President.

Section 2. Whenever there is a vacancy in the office of the Vice President, the President shall nominate a Vice President who shall take office upon confirmation by a majority vote of both Houses of Congress.

Section 3. Whenever the President transmits to the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives his written declaration that he is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office, and until he transmits to them a written declaration to the contrary, such powers and duties shall be discharged by the Vice President as Acting President.

Section 4. Whenever the Vice President and a majority of either the principal officers of the executive departments or of such other body as Congress may by law provide, transmit to the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives their written declaration that the President is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office, the Vice President shall immediately assume the powers and duties of the office as Acting President.

Thereafter, when the President transmits to the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives his written declaration that no inability exists, he shall resume the powers and duties of his office unless the Vice President and a majority of either the principal officers of the executive department or of such other body as Congress may by law provide, transmit within four days to the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives their written declaration that the President is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office. Thereupon Congress shall decide the issue, assemblying within forty-eight hours for that purpose if not in session. If the Congress, within twenty-one days after receipt of the latter written declaration, or, if Congress is not in session, within twenty-one days after Congress is required to assemble, determines by two-thirds vote of both Houses that the President is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office, the Vice President shall continue to discharge the same as Acting President; otherwise, the President shall resume the powers and duties of his office.

Article XXVI

Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States, who are eighteen years of age or older, to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of age.

Section 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

E PLURIBUS UNUM
LIBERTY
CONSTITUTION & LAWS

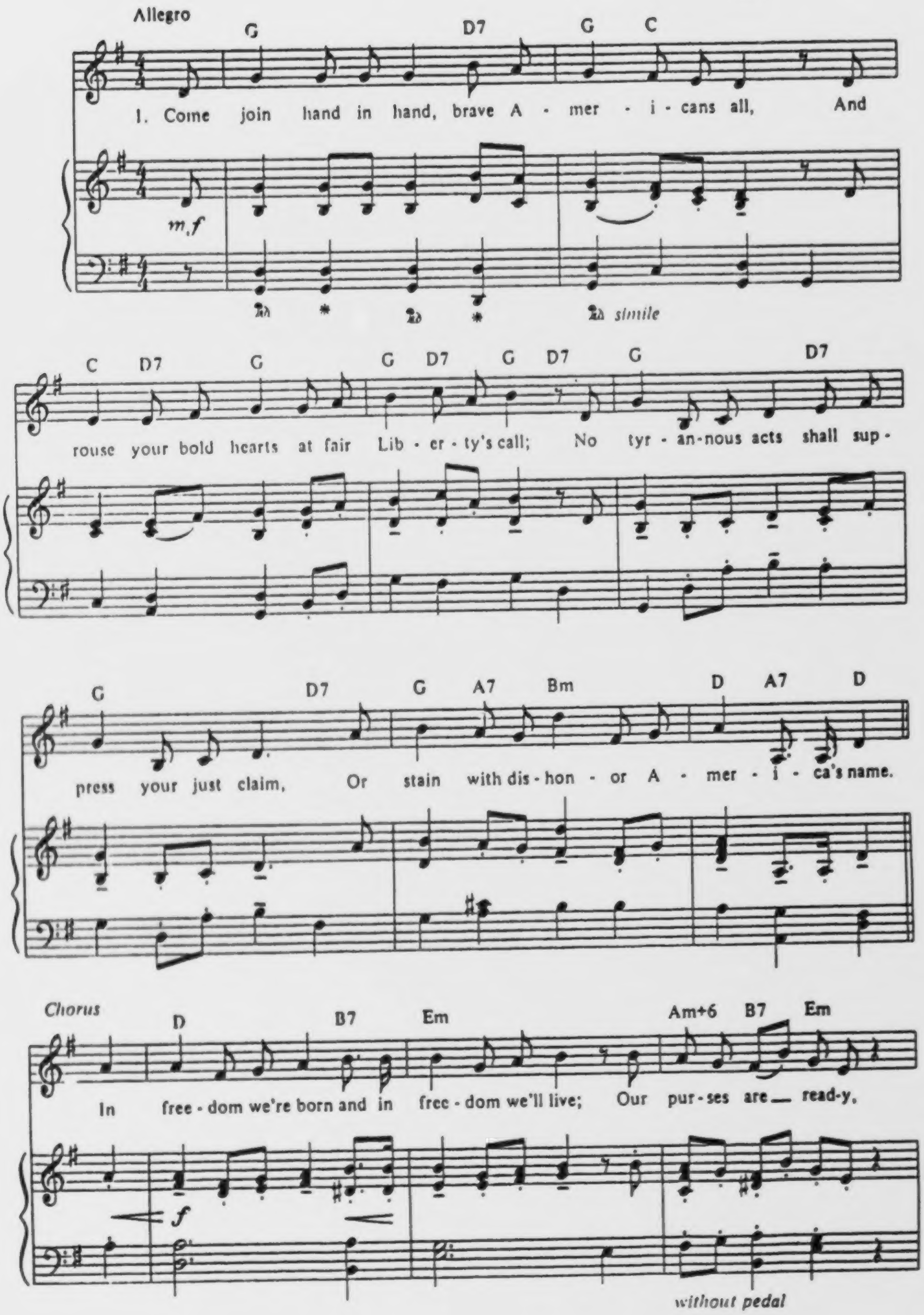
Appendix B

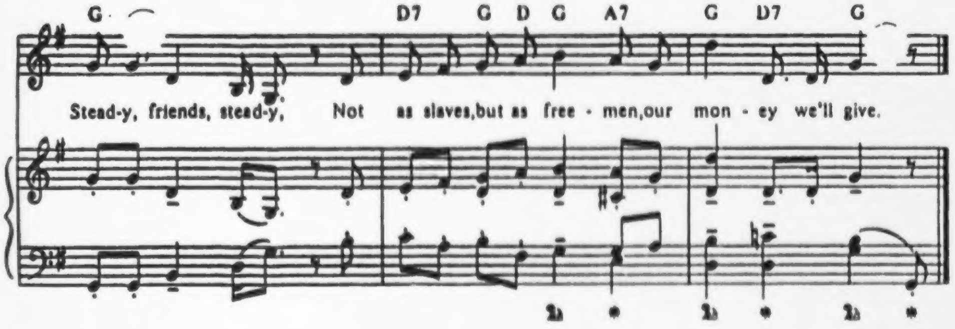
18th CENTURY
MUSIC & LYRICS

The Liberty Song

WORDS BY
JOHN DICKINSON
MUSIC BY
DR. WILLIAM BOYCE

As the ultimate revolution against British sovereignty drew near, various songs deploring taxation without representation began to circulate through the colonies. The first such song was this clarion call to "join hand in hand" against the "tyrannous" Townshend Acts of 1767. The lyrics were first published in a Boston newspaper in 1768. The following year the words and melody appeared in *Bickerstaff's Boston Almanac;* that original version, which was soon adopted as the official song of the Sons of Liberty, is reproduced here. The author of the lyrics was John Dickinson, the lawyer who had drafted the Declaration of Rights and Grievances at the Stamp Act Congress in 1765 and who, as a delegate from Delaware, would help frame the Constitution. The tune Dickinson used for "The Liberty Song" was that of a popular English song, "Hearts of Oak," which had been written in 1759 by the well-known composer William Boyce.


Allegro
G D7 G C
1. Come join hand in hand, brave A - mer - i - cans all, And
m.f
simile
C D7 G G D7 G D7 G D7
rouse your bold hearts at fair Lib - er - ty's call; No tyr - an - nous acts shall sup -
G D7 G A7 Bm D A7 D
press your just claim, Or stain with dis - hon - or A - mer - i - ca's name.
Chorus
D B7 Em Am+6 B7 Em
In free - dom we're born and in free - dom we'll live; Our pur - ses are — read - y,
f
without pedal


G
D7
G
D
G
A7
G
D7
G
Stead-y, friends, stead-y, Not as slaves, but as free - men, our mon - ey we'll give.

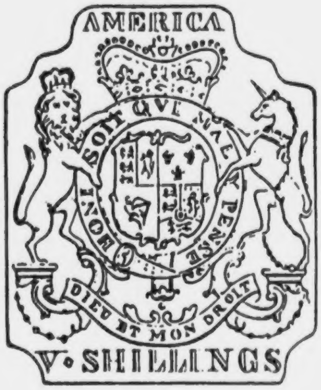
2. Our worthy forefathers, let's give them a cheer,
To climates unknown did courageously steer;
Thro' oceans to deserts, for freedom they came,
And dying, bequeath'd us their freedom and fame.
Chorus

3. Their generous bosoms all dangers despis'd,
So highly, so wisely, their birthrights they priz'd;
We'll keep what they gave, we will piously keep,
Nor frustrate their toils on the land and the deep.
Chorus

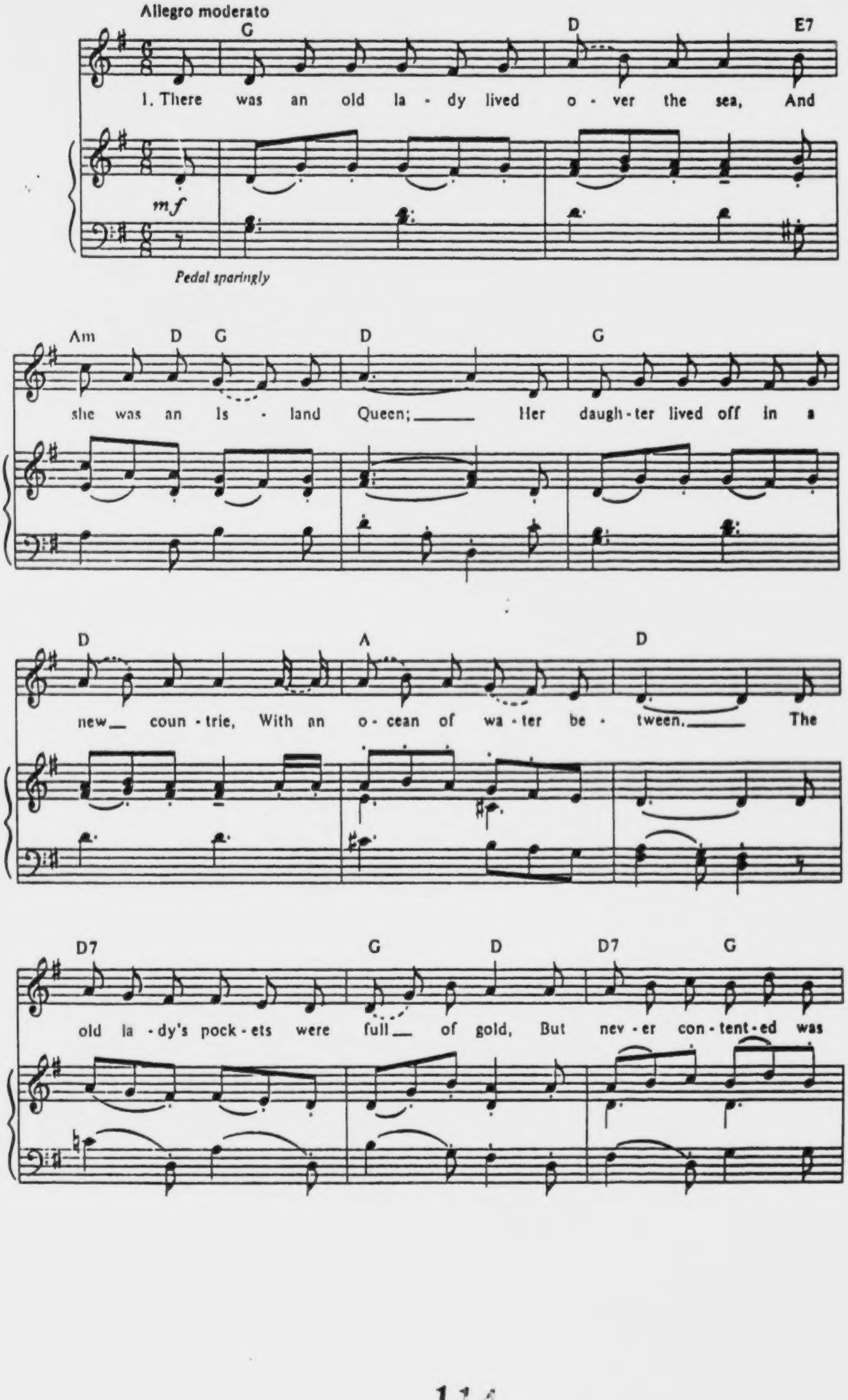
4. The tree their own hands had to Liberty rear'd
They liv'd to behold growing strong and rever'd;
With transport they cried: "Now our wishes we gain,
For our children shall gather the fruits of our pain!"
Chorus

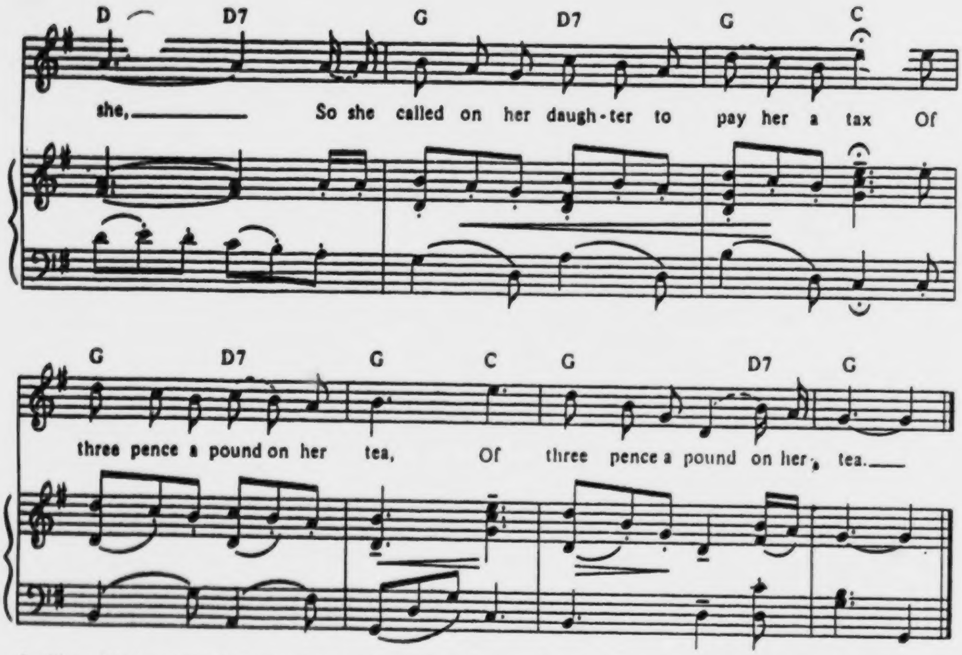
5. Then join hand in hand, brave Americans all,
By uniting we stand, by dividing we fall;
In so righteous a cause let us hope to succeed,
For heaven approves of each generous deed.
Chorus

REVOLUTIONARY TEA



This allegorical song about a rich lady "over the sea" and her rebellious daughter "off in a new countrie" was one of the many songs inspired by the Boston Tea Party and sung throughout the colonies during the Revolutionary period. The "three pence a pound" mentioned in the first verse refers to the import tax on tea established by the Townshend Acts of 1767 and extended by the Tea Act of 1773, which also permitted the nearly bankrupt East India Company (the old lady's "servants" in the song) to export a surplus of English tea to America and to undersell colonial merchants. The result was the famed Tea Party of December 16, 1773, when Samuel Adams and a group of colonists dressed as Mohawk Indians dumped three hundred and forty-two chests of tea into Boston Harbor.


Allegro moderato
G D E7
1. There was an old la - dy lived o - ver the sea, And
mf
Pedal sparingly
Am D G D G
she was an Is - land Queen; Her daugh - ter lived off in a
D A D
new coun - trie, With an o - cean of wa - ter be - tween. The
D7 G D D7 G
old la - dy's pock - ets were full of gold, But nev - er con - tent - ed was


D D7 G D7 G C
she, So she called on her daugh-ter to pay her a tax Of
G D7 G C G D7 G
three pence a pound on her tea, Of three pence a pound on her tea.

2. "Now, Mother, dear Mother," the daughter replied,
"I shan't do the thing you ax;
I'm willing to pay a fair price for the tea,
But never the three-penny tax."
"You shall," quoth the mother, and redden'd with rage,
"For you're my own daughter, you see,
And sure, 'tis quite proper the daughter should pay
Her mother a tax on her tea,
Her mother a tax on her tea."

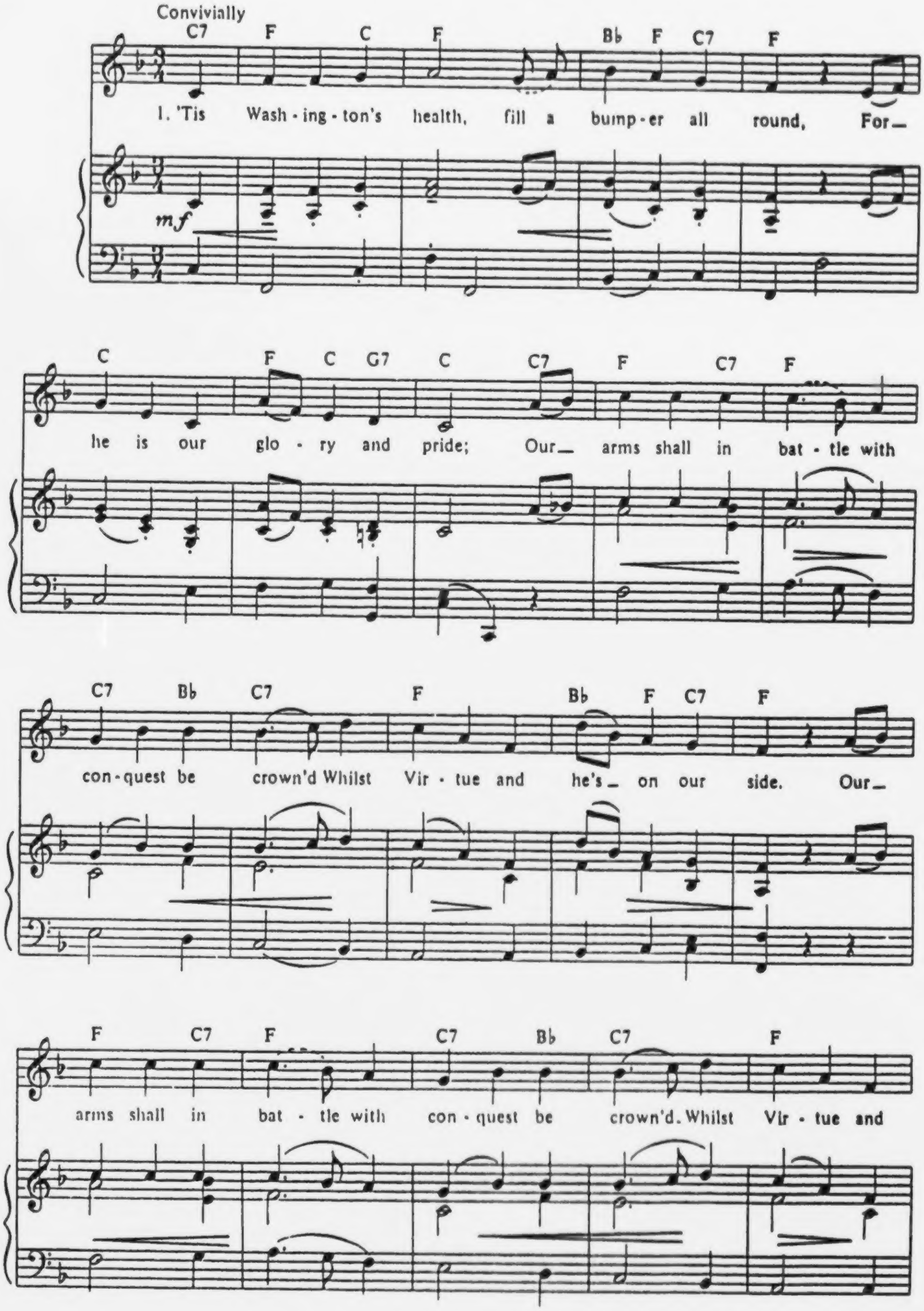
3. And so the old lady her servant called up,
And packed off a budget of tea;
And eager for three pence a pound, she put in
Enough for a large familie.
She order'd her servants to bring home the tax,
Declaring her child should obey,
Or old as she was, and almost woman grown,
She'd half whip her life away,
She'd half whip her life away.

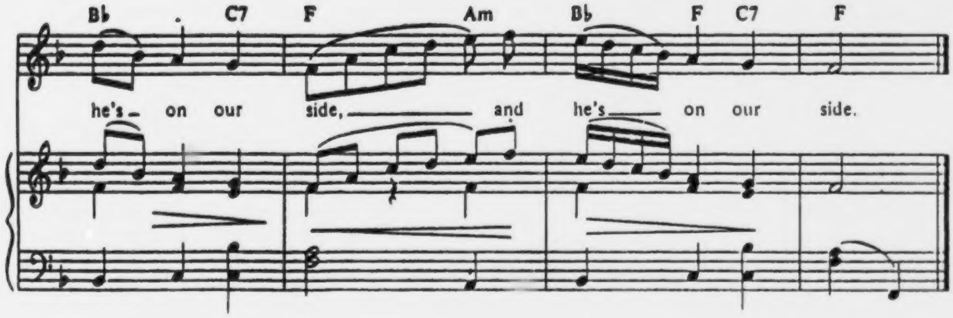
4. The tea was conveyed to the daughter's door,
All down by the ocean's side;
And the bouncing girl pour'd out ev'ry pound,
In the dark and boiling tide.
And then she called out to the Island Queen,
"Oh, Mother, dear Mother," quoth she,
"Your tea you may have when 'tis steep'd enough,
But never a tax from me,
But never a tax from me."

THE TOAST

WORDS AND MUSIC BY
FRANCIS HOPKINSON

Francis Hopkinson, who wrote this tribute to General George Washington in 1778, has been aptly described as a "gentleman amateur." A lawyer, an active churchman, a member of the Continental Congress of 1776, and a signer of the Declaration of Independence, he also wrote numerous poems and satirical essays, tried his hand at crayon portraits, and helped design the American flag. In 1759, when he was twenty-one, he wrote what was probably the first secular song by a native American to be published: "My Days Have Been So Wondrous Free." As a composer, Hopkinson – who may have been self-taught – was highly esteemed by Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson, both of whom had studied music, and by his friend George Washington, who understood little about it but knew what he liked. In December, 1781, after the alliance with France had been achieved, Hopkinson wrote a commemorative allegorical cantata called *The Temple of Minerva* and directed its *première* performance at a concert arranged in Washington's honor by the French ambassador.


Convivially
C7 F C F Bb F C7 F
1. 'Tis Wash - ing - ton's health, fill a bump - er all round, For —
mf
C F C G7 C C7 F C7 F
he is our glo - ry and pride; Our — arms shall in bat - tle with
C7 Bb C7 F Bb F C7 F
con - quest be crown'd Whilst Vir - tue and he's — on our side. Our —
F C7 F C7 Bb C7 F
arms shall in bat - tle with con - quest be crown'd. Whilst Vir - tue and

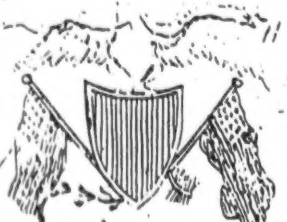

Bb
C7
F
Am
Bb
F
C7
F
he's on our side, and he's on our side.

2. 'Tis Washington's health, loud cannon should roar,
And trumpets the truth should proclaim;
There cannot be found, search all the world o'er,
His equal in virtue and fame.
There cannot be found, search all the world o'er,
His equal in virtue and fame, in virtue and fame.

3. 'Tis Washington's health; our hero to bless,
May heaven look graciously down;
Oh, long may he live, our hearts to possess,
And Freedom still call him her own, *etc.*

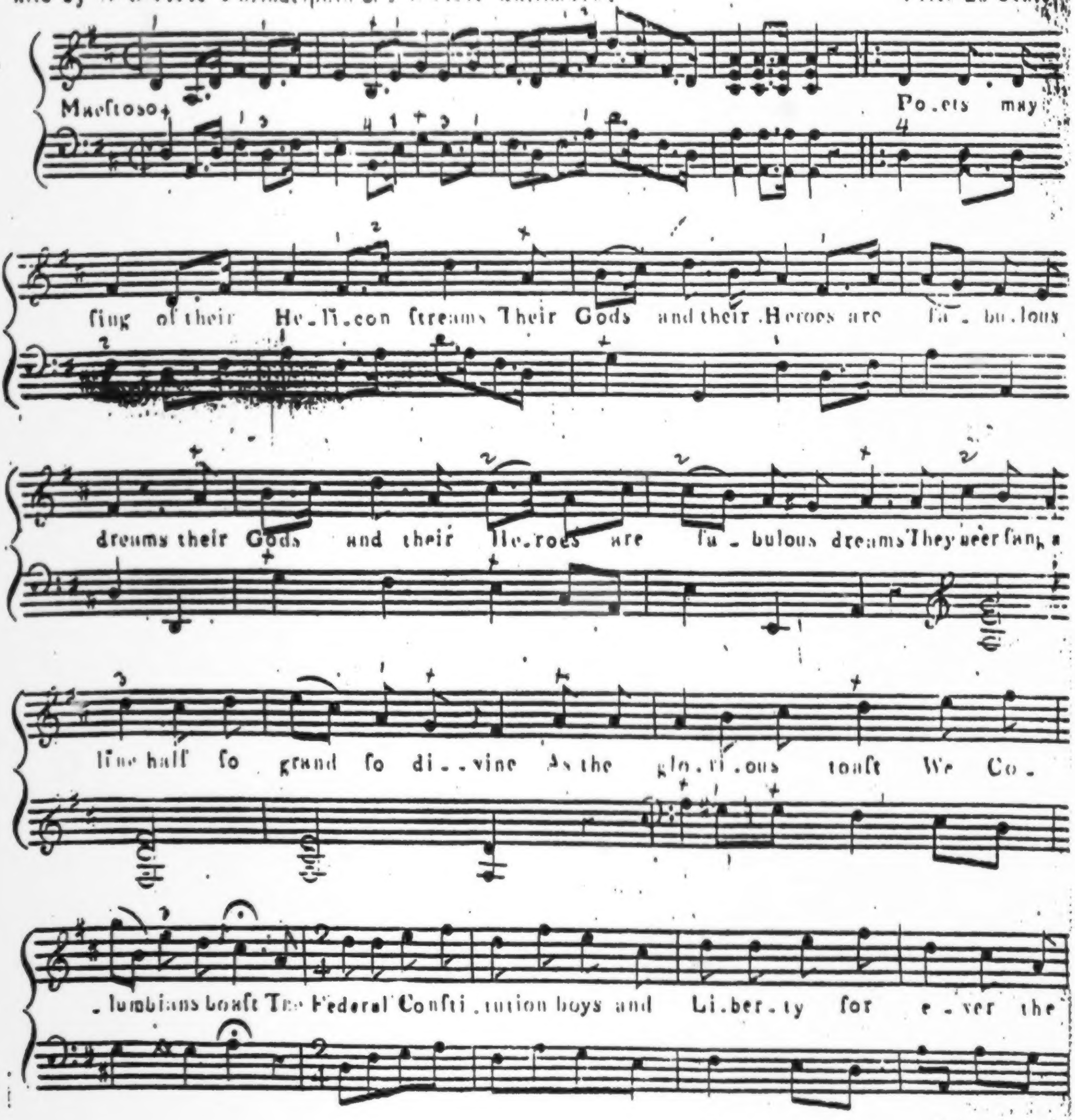
1798

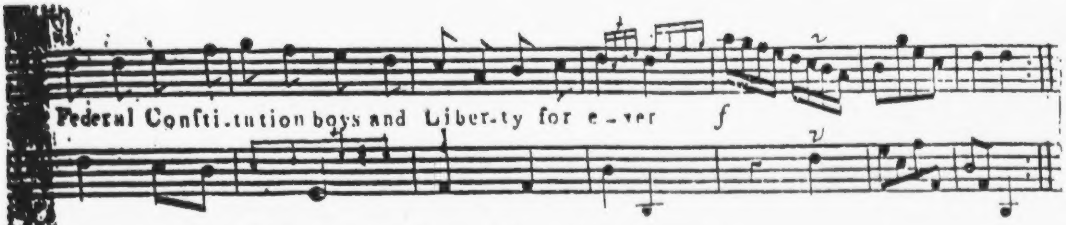
THE FEDERAL Constitution & LIBERTY for EVER



A new Patriotic Song Written by Mr Milns &
Sung with great applause By Mr Williamson
The Music adapted By Mr HEWITT.

NEW YORK Printed & Sold at J. HEWITTS Muſical Repoſitory No 131 William Street. Sold
also by B. CARR Philadelphia & J. CARR Baltimore. Price 25 Cents


Maeſtoſo
Poets may
ſing of their He_li_con ſtreams Their Gods and their Heroes are fa_bu_lous
dreams their Gods and their He_roes are fa_bulous dreams They neer ſang a
line half ſo grand ſo di_vine As the glo_ri_ous toaſt We Co_
_lumbians boaſt The Federal Conſti_tution boys and Li_ber_ty for e_ver the



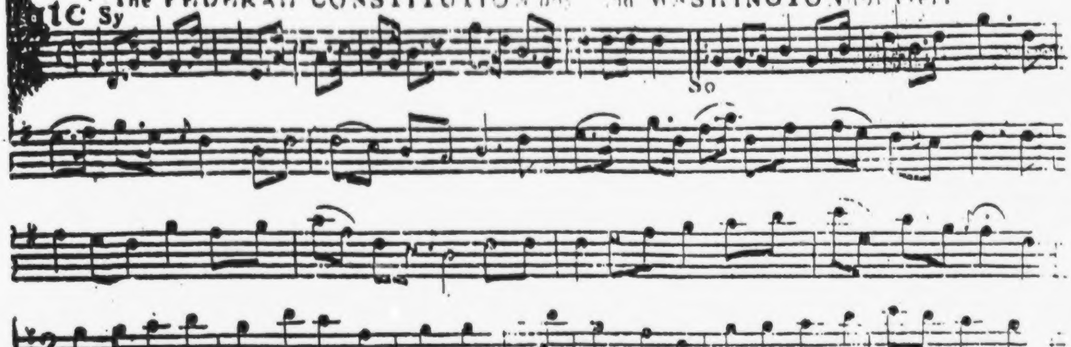
ADAMS, the man of our choice, guides the helm,
No tempeſt can harm us, no ſtorm overwhelm
Our ſheet anchor's ſure
And our bark rides ſecure
So here's to the toaſt
We Columbians boaſt,
The **FEDERAL CONSTITUTION**, and the **PRESIDENT** for ever.

A free Navigation, Commerce and Trade,
We'll ſeek for no foe, of no foe be afraid,
Our frigates ſhall ride
Our defence and our pride;
Our Tars guard our coaſt
And huzza to our toaſt
The **FEDERAL CONSTITUTION**, **TRADE** and **COMMERCE** boys for ever.

MONTGOMERY, **WARREN** ſtill live in our ſongs,
Like them our **YOUNG HEROES** ſhall ſpurn at our wrongs,
The world will admire
The zeal and the fire
Which blaze in the toaſt
We Columbians boaſt
The **FEDERAL CONSTITUTION** and its **ADVOCATES** for ever.

When an enemy threats all party ſhall ceaſe,
We bribe no intriguers to buy a mean peace,
Columbians will ſcorn,
Friend or foe to ſuborn,
We'll ne'er ſtain the toaſt
Which as free men we boaſt
The **FEDERAL CONSTITUTION** and **INTEGRITY** for ever.

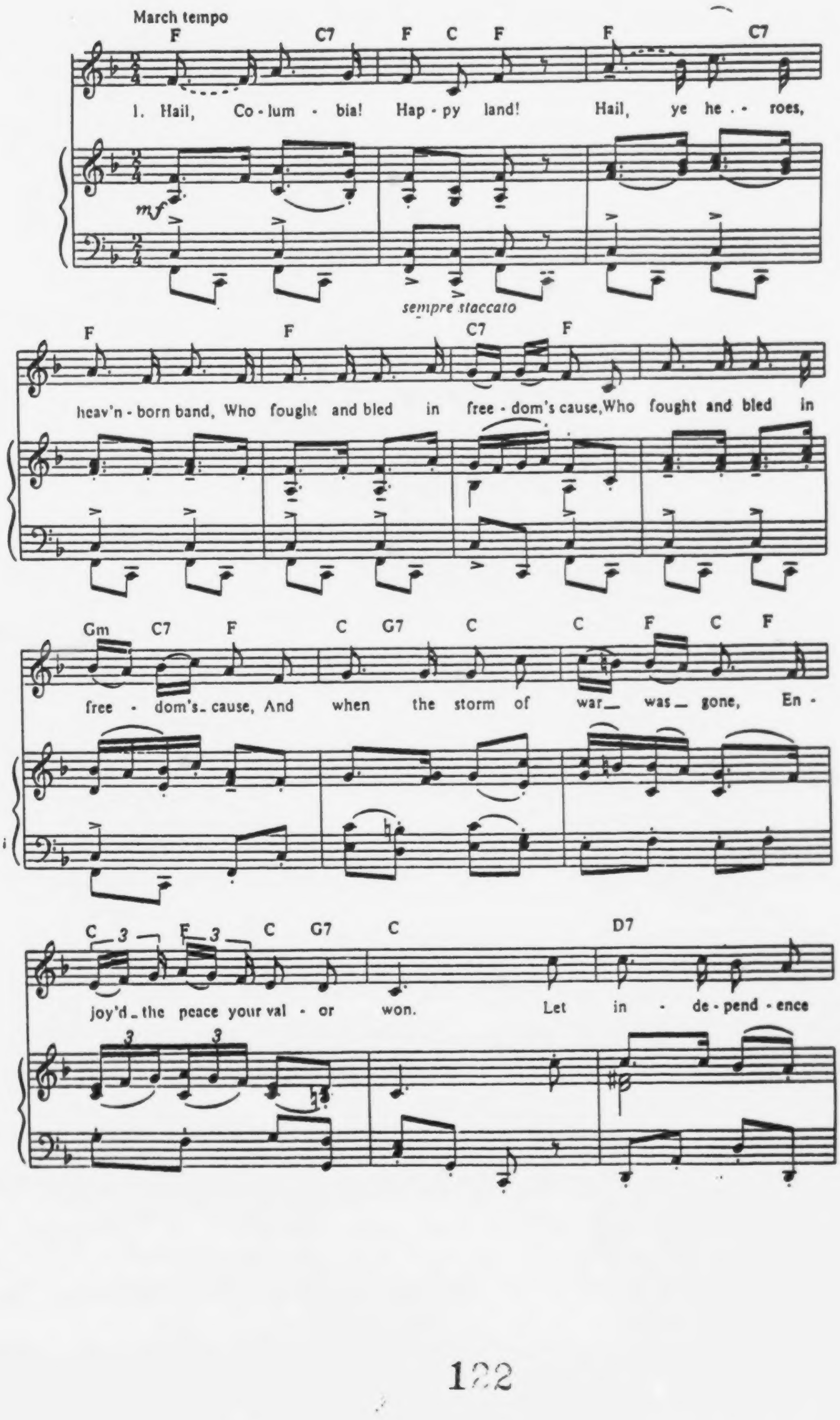
FAME'S trumpet ſhall ſwell in **WASHINGTON'S** praiſe,
And **TIME** grant a furlough to lengthen his days,
May health weave the thread
Of delight round his head;
No nation can boaſt
Such a name — ſuch a toaſt
The **FEDERAL CONSTITUTION** boys and **WASHINGTON** for ever.

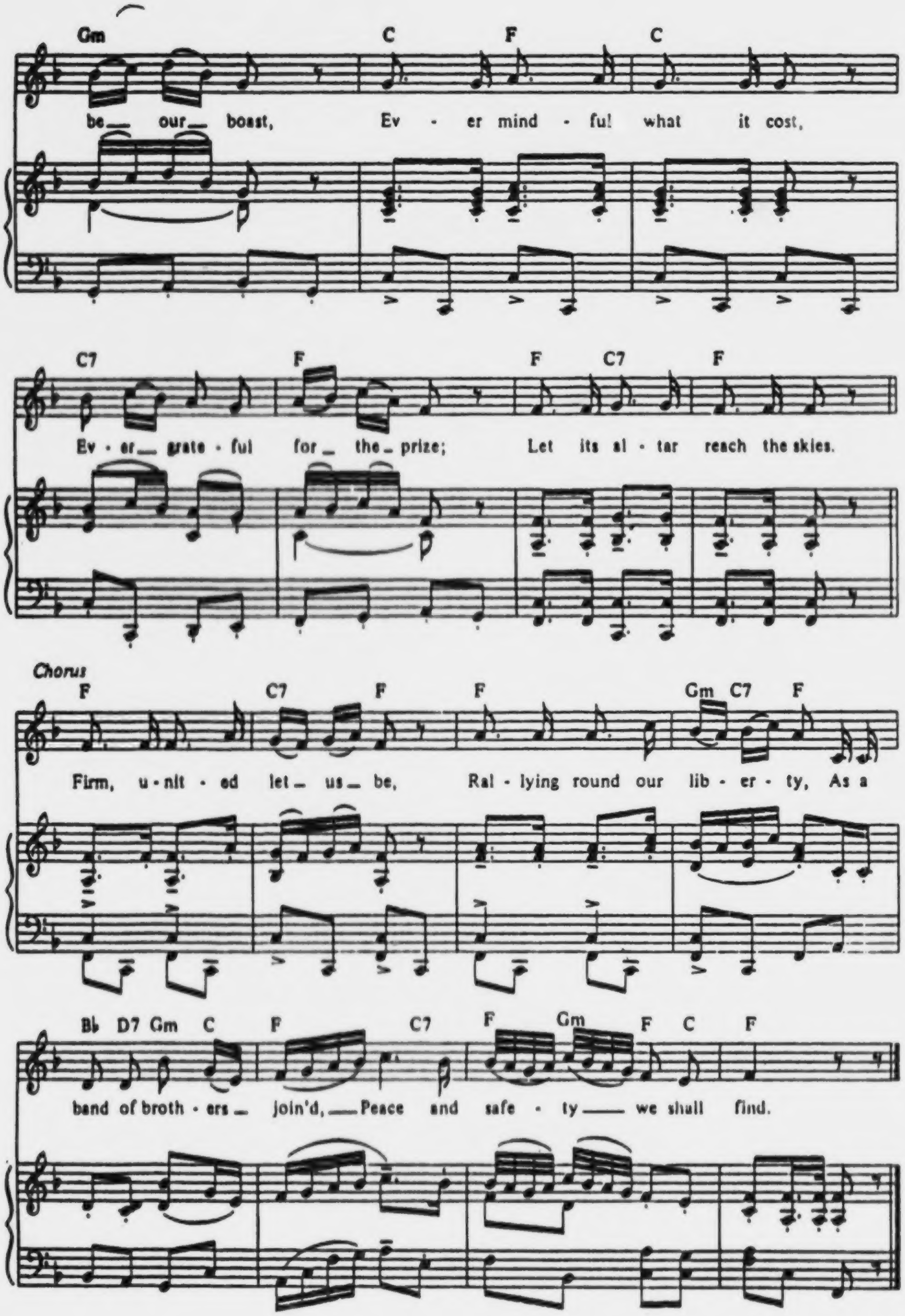


Hail, Columbia

WORDS BY
JOSEPH HOPKINSON
MUSIC BY
PHILIP PHILE

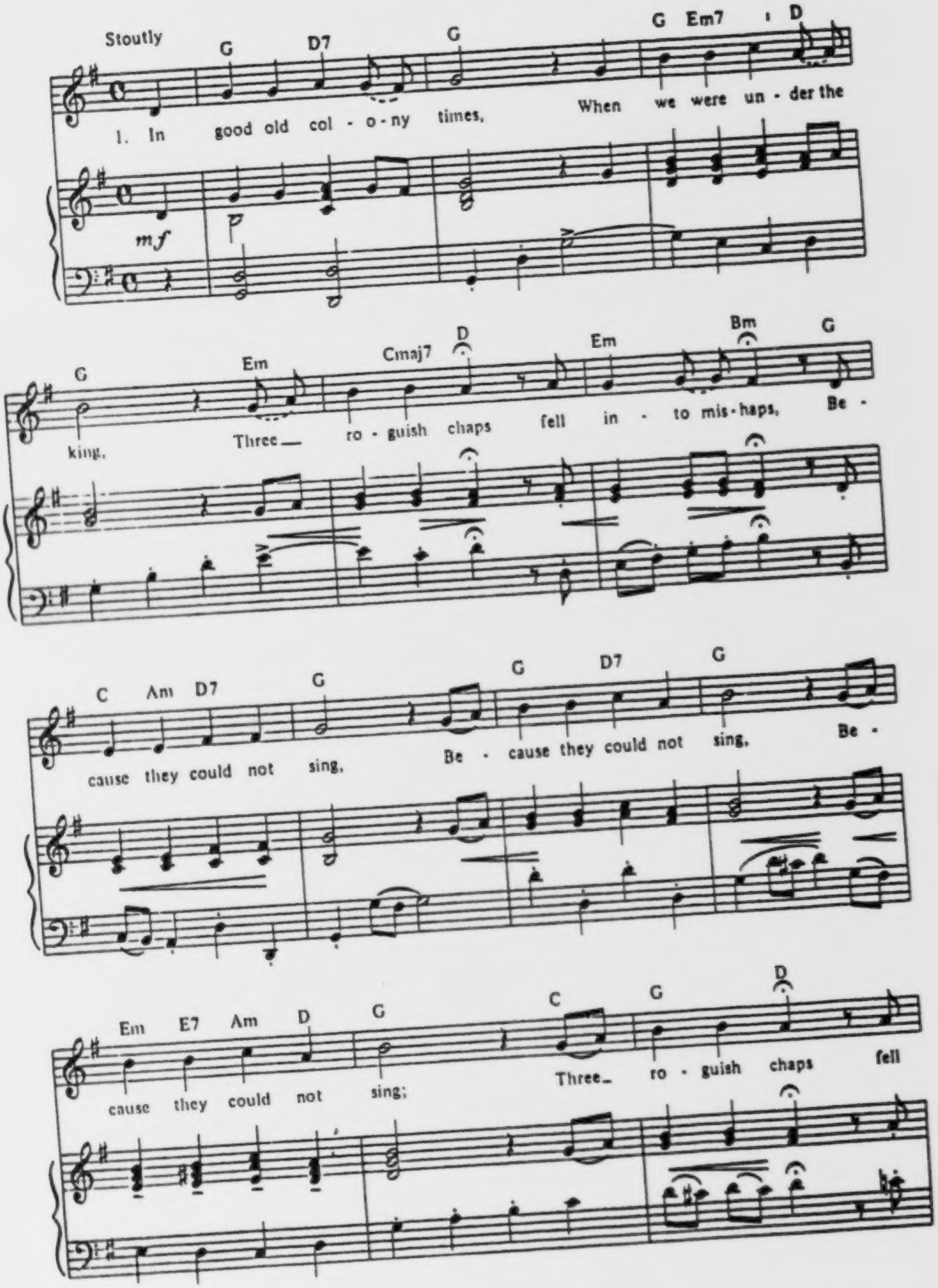
During the Presidency of John Adams the United States found itself on the brink of war with France. The Federalists favored France's enemy, England, while the Republicans, led by Jefferson, sided with France. Congress bitterly debated the issue during the summer of 1798 in Philadelphia. The controversy prompted a young local actor named Gilbert Fox to ask the poets he knew to write a stirring song that would ensure the success of a concert he was scheduled to give. He finally approached Joseph Hopkinson, the son of the composer Francis Hopkinson, and suggested that he write words to fit the famous "President's March" of 1793. Hopkinson thereupon wrote the lyrics to "Hail, Columbia," which extolled America and discreetly omitted any mention of either England or France. An immediate hit with both parties, it was the first great patriotic song of the United States that was entirely a native product.

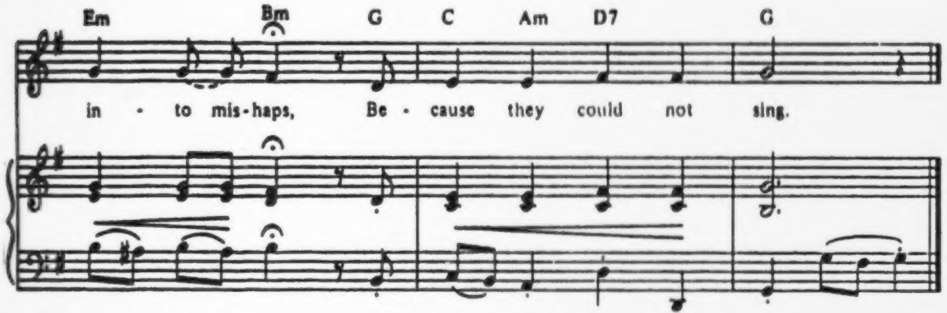

March tempo
F C7 F C F F C7
1. Hail, Co-lum-bia! Hap-py land! Hail, ye he-roes,
mf
sempre staccato
F F C7 F
heav'n-born band, Who fought and bled in free-dom's cause, Who fought and bled in
Gm C7 F C G7 C C F C F
free-dom's cause, And when the storm of war was gone, En-
C 3 F 3 C G7 C D7
joy'd the peace your val-or won. Let in-de-pend-ence


Gm C F C
be — our — boast, Ev - er mind - ful what it cost,
C7 F F C7 F
Ev - er — grate - ful for — the — prize; Let its al - tar reach the skies.
Chorus
F C7 F F Gm C7 F
Firm, u - nit - ed let — us — be, Ral - lying round our lib - er - ty, As a
B♭ D7 Gm C F C7 F Gm F C F
band of broth - ers — join'd, — Peace and safe - ty — we shall find.

Old Colony Times

By the end of the eighteenth century the citizens of the new republic were already looking back with nostalgia to colonial days. Among the most popular songs of the period was the whimsical "Old Colony Times," in which three incorrigible rogues (a traditional trio in the folk music of many cultures) come to various unfortunate ends simply "because they could not sing." Within a few decades the song had become popular in Europe as well; in 1831 the young Otto von Bismarck, then a student of law, reportedly learned it at Göttingen University in Germany. The spirited tune is thought by some musicologists to have originated many centuries earlier in England, possibly as far back as the days of the legendary King Arthur of Camelot.

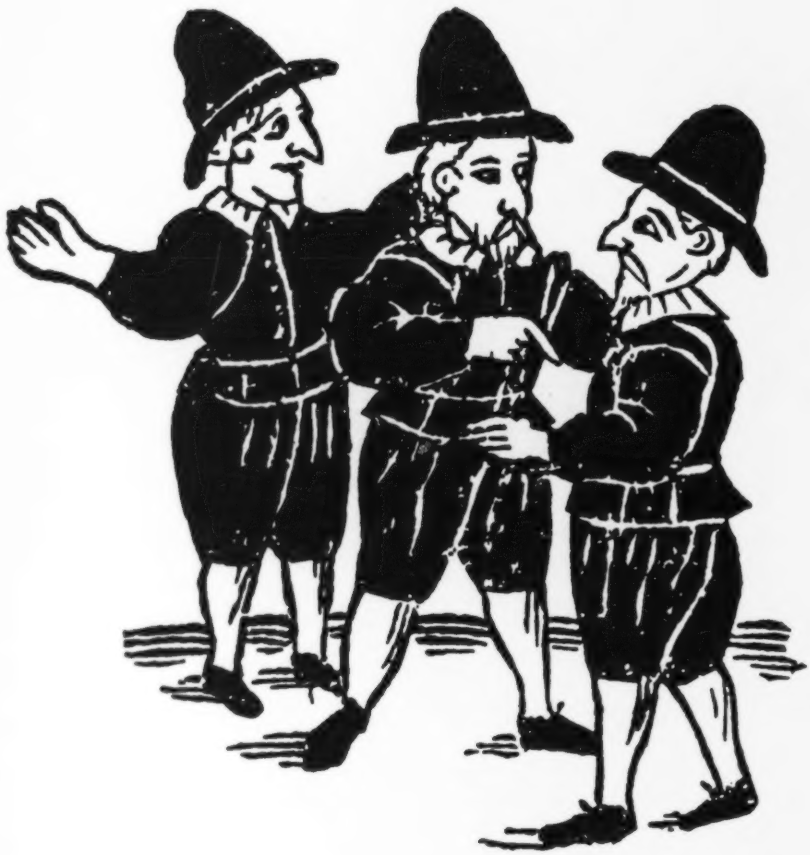

Stoutly
G D7 G G Em7 D
1. In good old col - o - ny times, When we were un - der the
mf
G Em Cmaj7 D Em Bm G
king, Three — ro - guish chaps fell in - to mis - haps, Be -
C Am D7 G G D7 G
cause they could not sing, Be - cause they could not sing, Be -
Em E7 Am D G C G D
cause they could not sing; Three — ro - guish chaps fell



2. The first, he was a miller,
And the second, he was a weaver,
And the third, he was a little tailor,
Three roguish chaps together,
Three roguish chaps together,
Three roguish chaps together;
And the third, he was a little tailor,
Three roguish chaps together.

3. Now the miller, he stole corn,
And the weaver, he stole yarn,
And the little tailor stole broadcloth for
To keep these three rogues warm, *etc.*

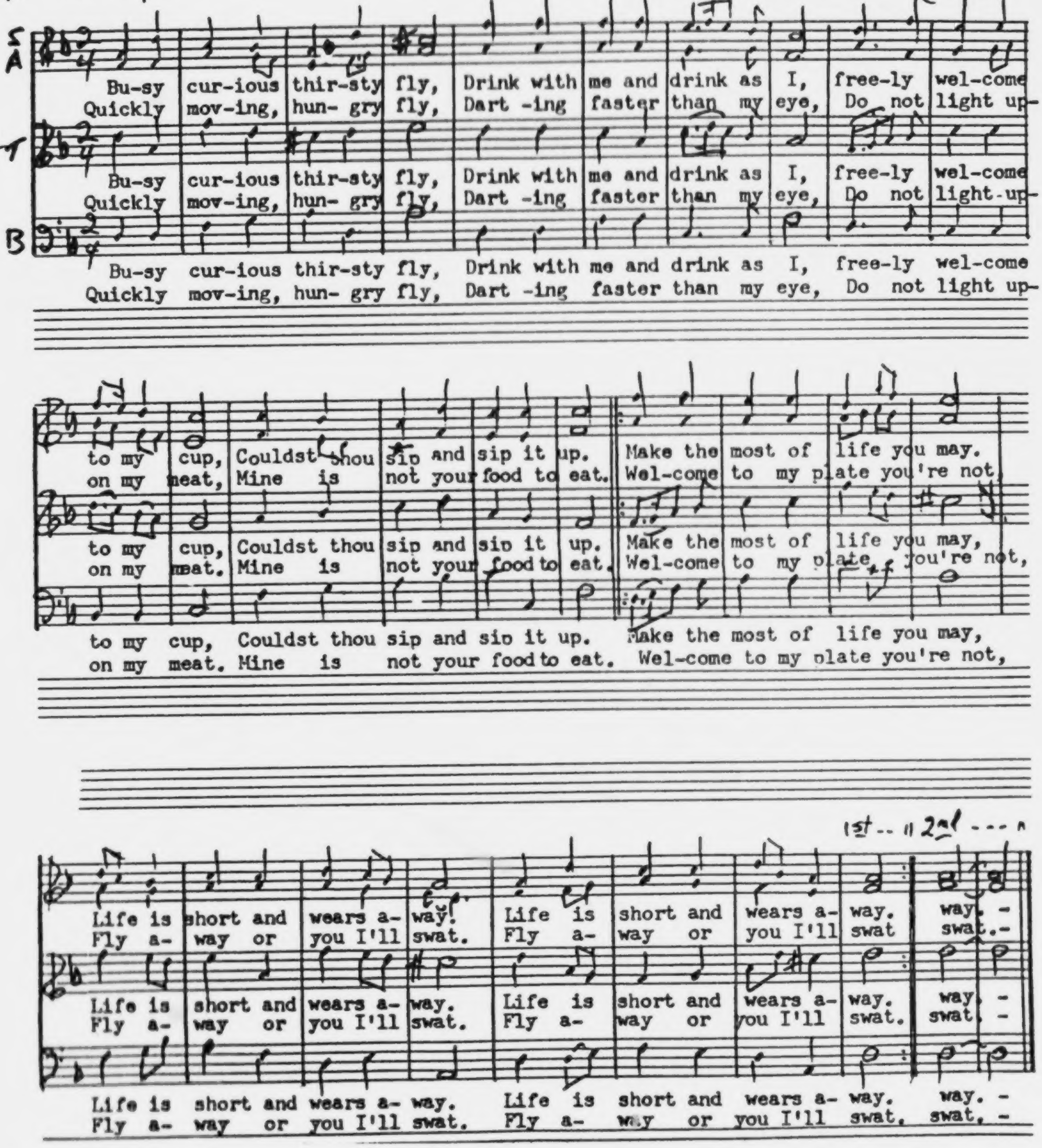
4. The miller got drown'd in his dam,
The weaver got hung in his yarn,
And the devil clapp'd his claw on the little tailor,
With the broadcloth under his arm, *etc.*



FLY

Jacob French (1754- ?)
from "Harmony of Harmony" 1802

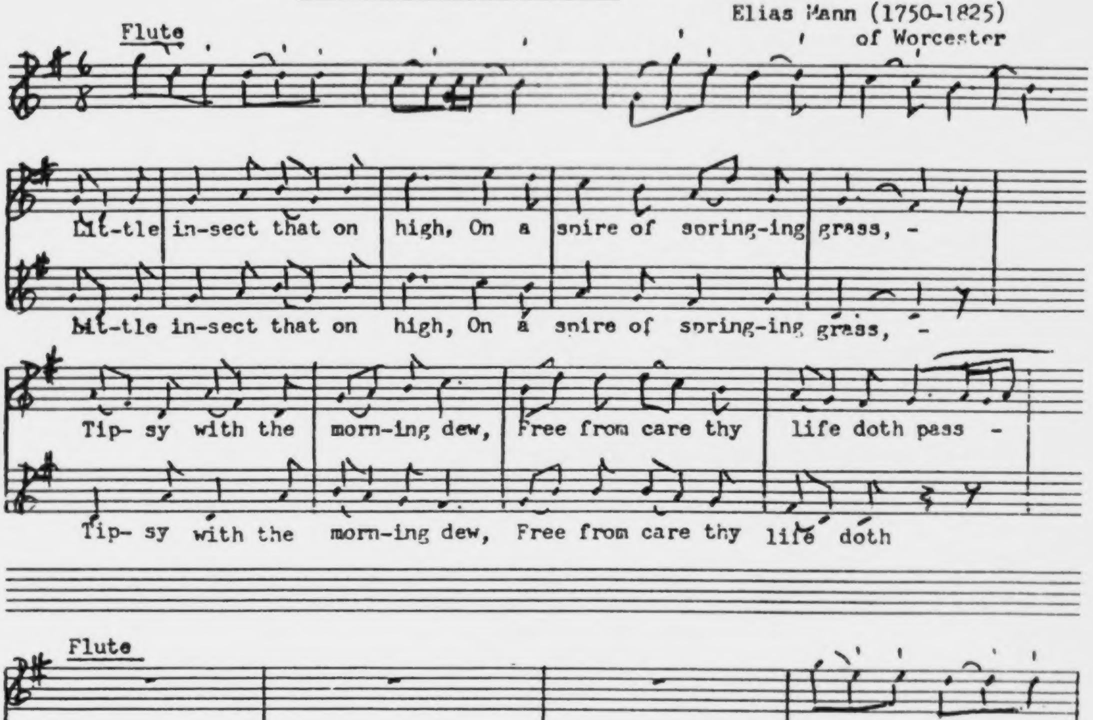
* Melody in tenor

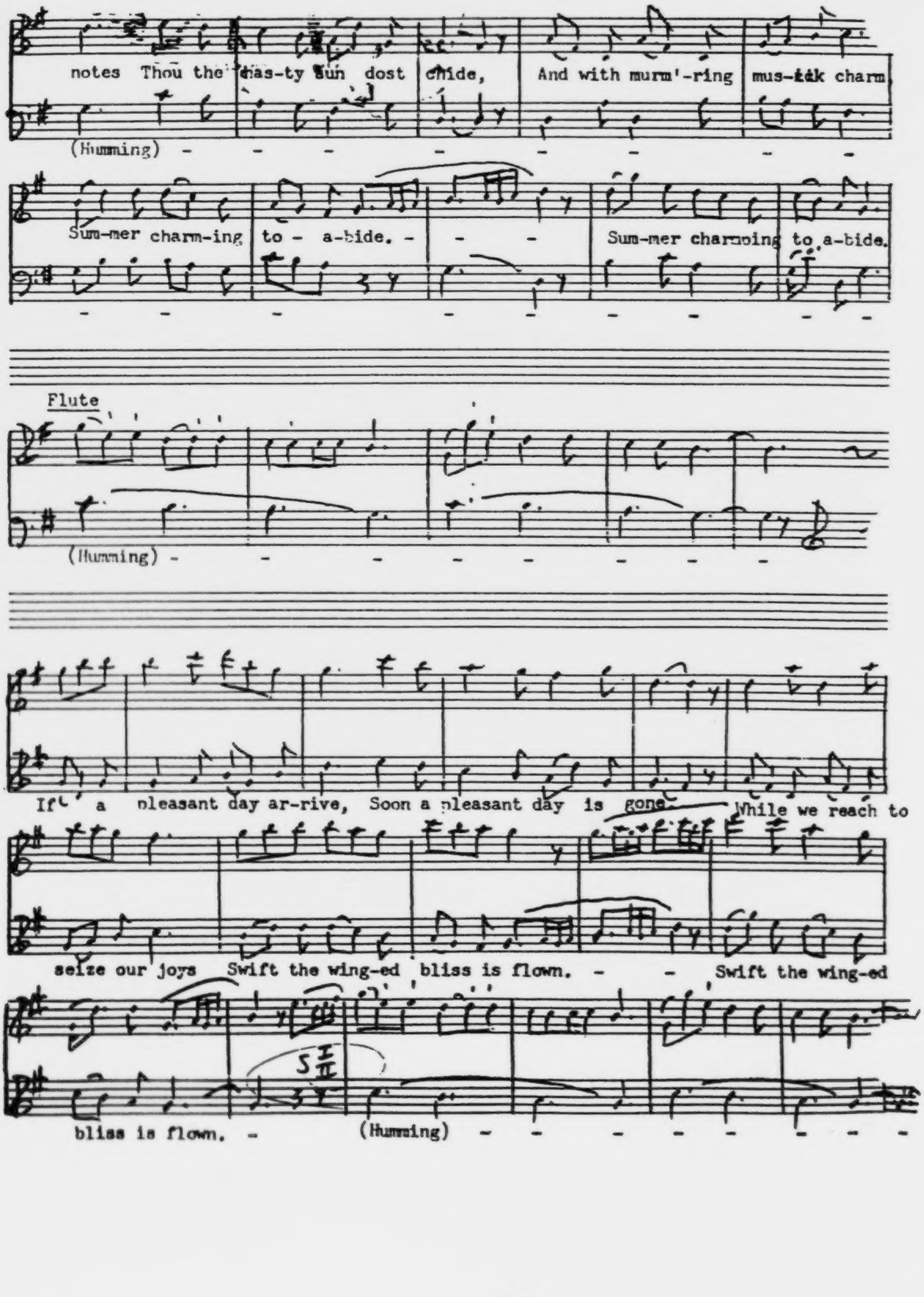

S
A
*T
B
Bu-sy cur-ious thir-sty fly, Drink with me and drink as I, free-ly wel-come
Quickly mov-ing, hun- gry fly, Dart -ing faster than my eye, Do not light up-
to my cup, Couldst thou sip and sip it up. Make the most of life you may,
on my meat. Mine is not your food to eat. Wel-come to my plate you're not,
1st -- || 2nd - - -
Life is short and wears a- way. Life is short and wears a- way. way. -
Fly a- way or you I'll swat. Fly a- way or you I'll swat. swat. -

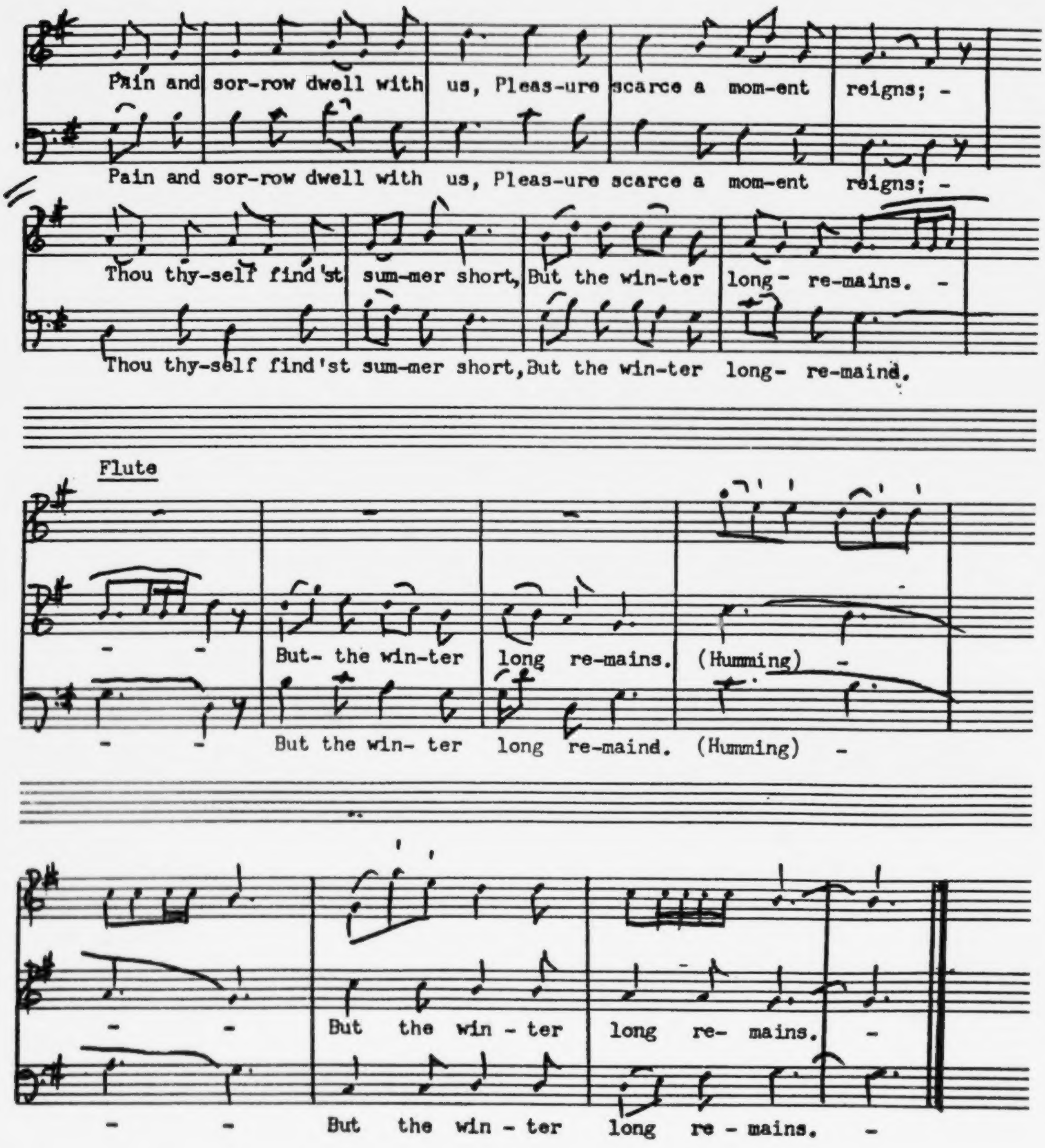
THE GRASSHOPPER

from "The Massachusetts Magazine" - December, 1790

Elias Mann (1750-1825)
of Worcester


Flute
Lit-tle in-sect that on high, On a spire of spring-ing grass, -
Lit-tle in-sect that on high, On a spire of spring-ing grass, -
Tip- sy with the morn-ing dew, Free from care thy life doth pass -
Tip- sy with the morn-ing dew, Free from care thy life doth
Flute
- - - Free from care thy life doth pass. (Humming) -
pass - Free from care thy life doth pass. (Humming) -
Sop. I&II
- - - - - - - As in chirp-ing plaintive
Men.
(Humming) - -


notes Thou the has-ty sun dost chide, And with murm'-ring mus-ick charm
(Humming) - - - - - - - - -
Sum-mer charm-ing to - a-bide. - - - Sum-mer charmping to a-bide.
- - - - - - - - - -
Flute
(Humming) - - - - - - - - -
If a pleasant day ar-rive, Soon a pleasant day is gone. While we reach to
seize our joys Swift the wing-ed bliss is flown. - - Swift the wing-ed
S I II
bliss is flown. - (Humming) - - - - - - - -


Pain and sor-row dwell with us, Pleas-ure scarce a mom-ent reigns; -
Pain and sor-row dwell with us, Pleas-ure scarce a mom-ent reigns; -
Thou thy-self find'st sum-mer short, But the win-ter long- re-mains. -
Thou thy-self find'st sum-mer short, But the win-ter long- re-maind.
Flute
- - But- the win-ter long re-mains. (Humming) -
- - But the win- ter long re-maind. (Humming) -
- - But the win - ter long re- mains. -
- - But the win - ter long re - mains. -

THE CRICKET

A favorite Song Composed by Dr. G·K·JACKSON.

Sung by MISS BRETT with Applause.

1800

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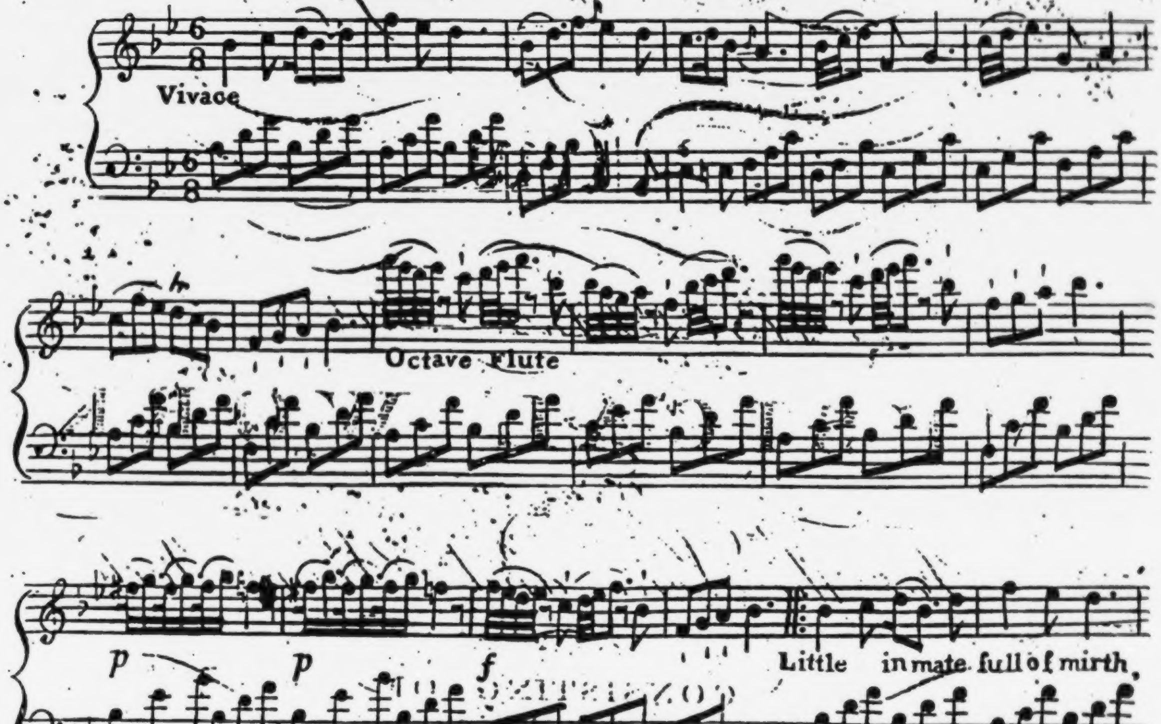
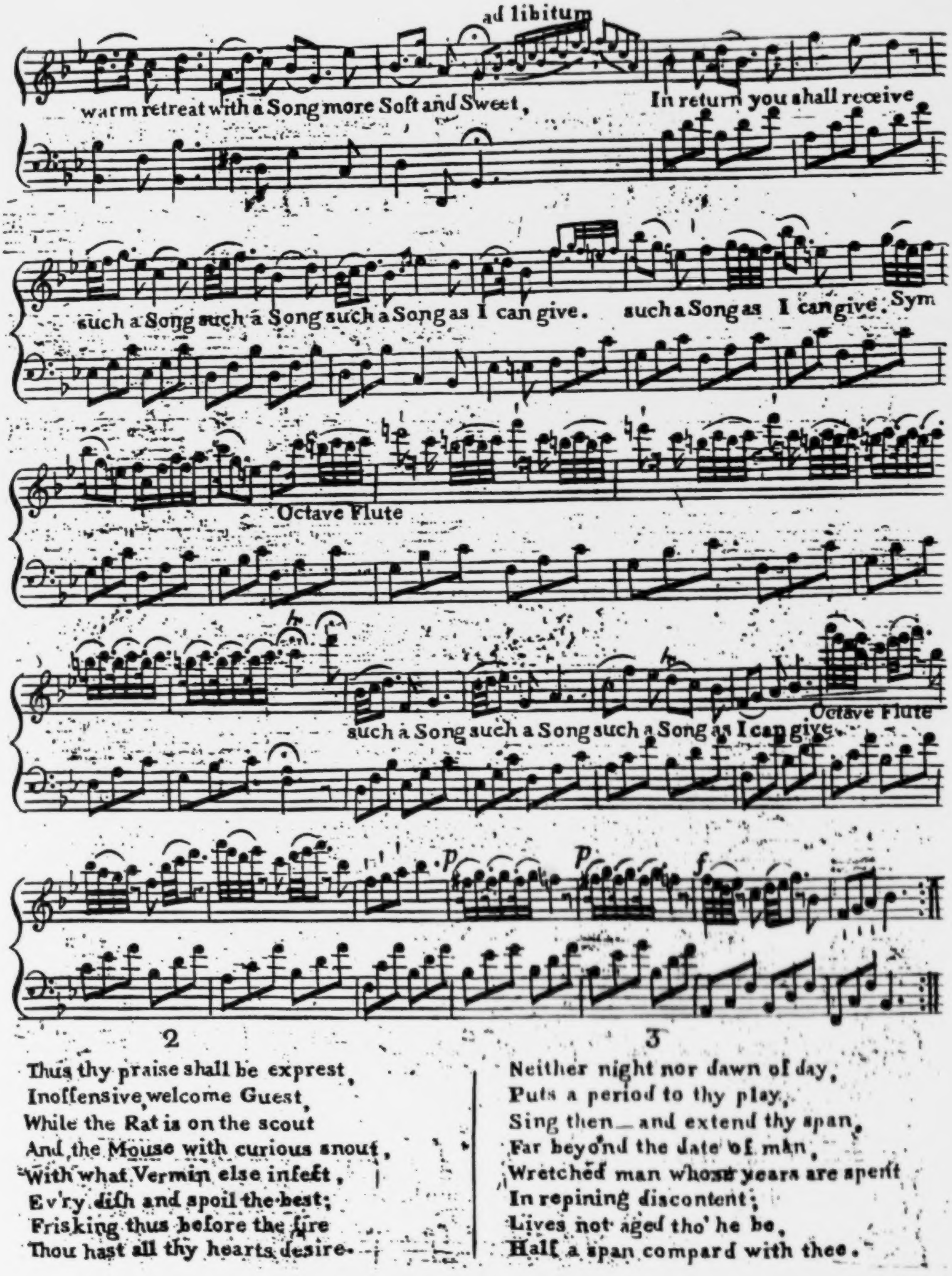

Vivace
Octave Flute
p
p
f
Little inmate full of mirth,
chirping on my Kitchen hearth, wheresoe'er be thine abode, always harbinger of Good,
f Octave Flute
Pay me for my


ad libitum
warm retreat with a Song more Soſt and Sweet,
In return you shall receive
such a Song such a Song such a Song as I can give.
such a Song as I can give.
Sym
Octave Flute
such a Song such a Song such a Song as I can give.
Octave Flute
p
p
f

2

Thus thy praise shall be exprest,
Inoſſensive welcome Guest,
While the Rat is on the scout
And the Mouse with curious snout,
With what Vermin else infeſt,
Ev'ry diſh and spoil the best;
Frisking thus before the fire
Thou hast all thy hearts desire.

3

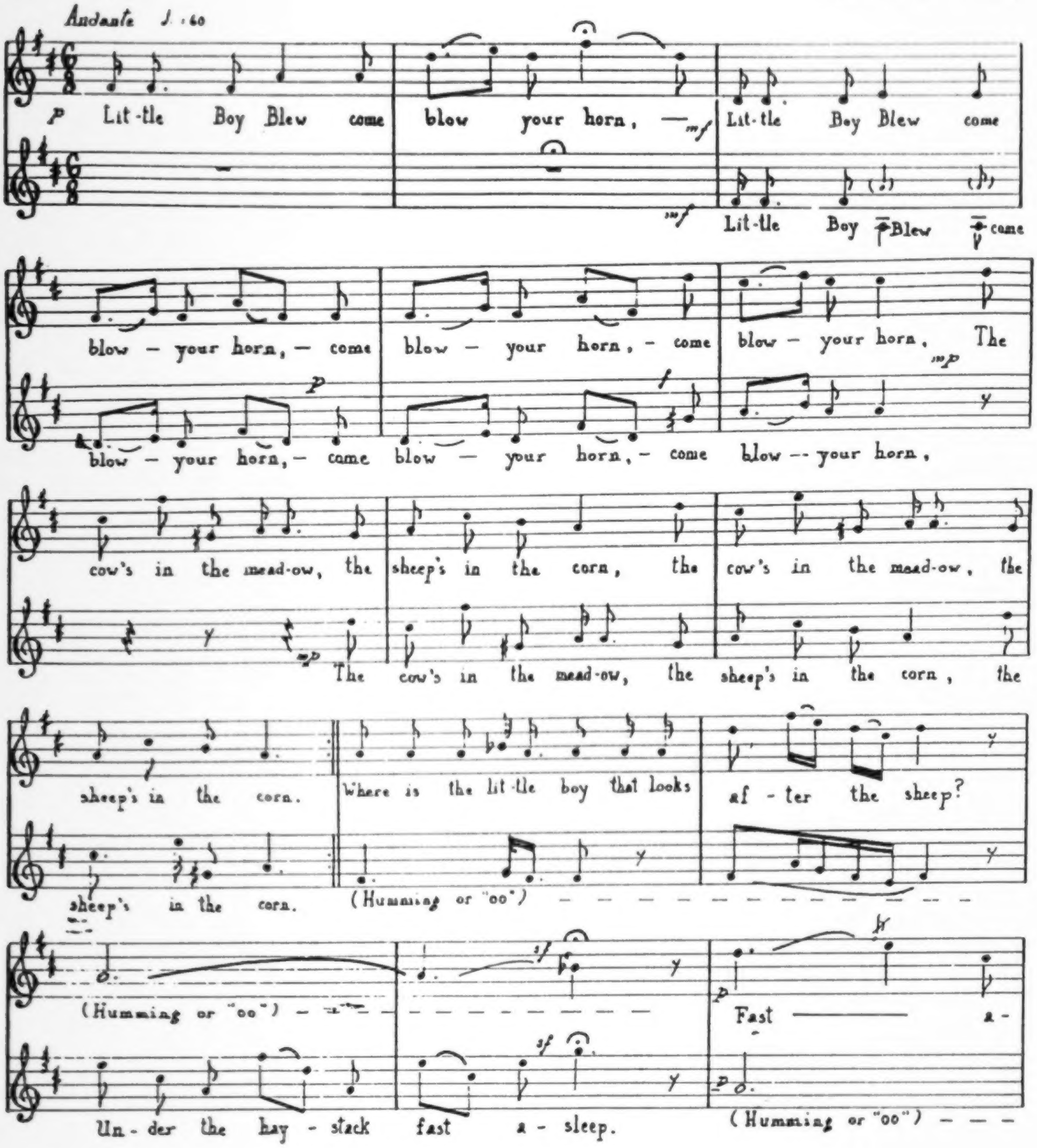
Neither night nor dawn of day,
Puts a period to thy play,
Sing then — and extend thy span,
Far beyond the date of man,
Wretched man whose years are spent
In repining discontent;
Lives not aged tho' he be,
Half a span compard with thee.

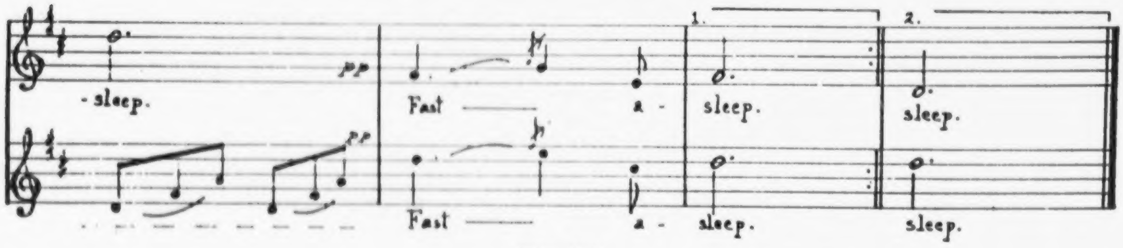
LITTLE BOY BLEW

Duet

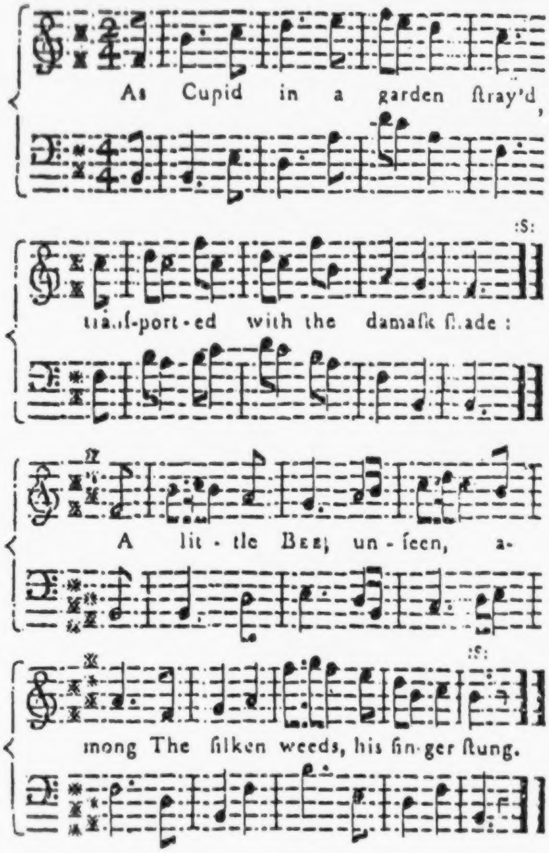
Transcribed and edited
by Gordon Myers

Benjamin Carr (1768-1831)


Andante ♩. 60
p Lit-tle Boy Blew come blow your horn, — mf Lit-tle Boy Blew come
mf Lit-tle Boy Blew come
blow — your horn, — come blow — your horn, - come blow — your horn, mp The
blow — your horn, — p come blow — your horn, - come blow — your horn,
cow's in the mead-ow, the sheep's in the corn, the cow's in the mead-ow, the
mp The cow's in the mead-ow, the sheep's in the corn, the
sheep's in the corn. Where is the lit-tle boy that looks af - ter the sheep?
sheep's in the corn. (Humming or "oo") — — —
(Humming or "oo") — — — sf p Fast — a-
Un-der the hay - stack fast a - sleep. sf p (Humming or "oo") — — —


-sleep.
pp
Fast a-sleep.
1.
2.
sleep.
sleep.
pp
Fast a-sleep.

THE BEE.


As Cupid in a garden ſtray'd,
:S:
tranſ-port-ed with the damaſk ſhade:
A lit-tle Bee, un-ſeen, a-
:S:
mong The ſilken weeds, his fin-ger ſtung.

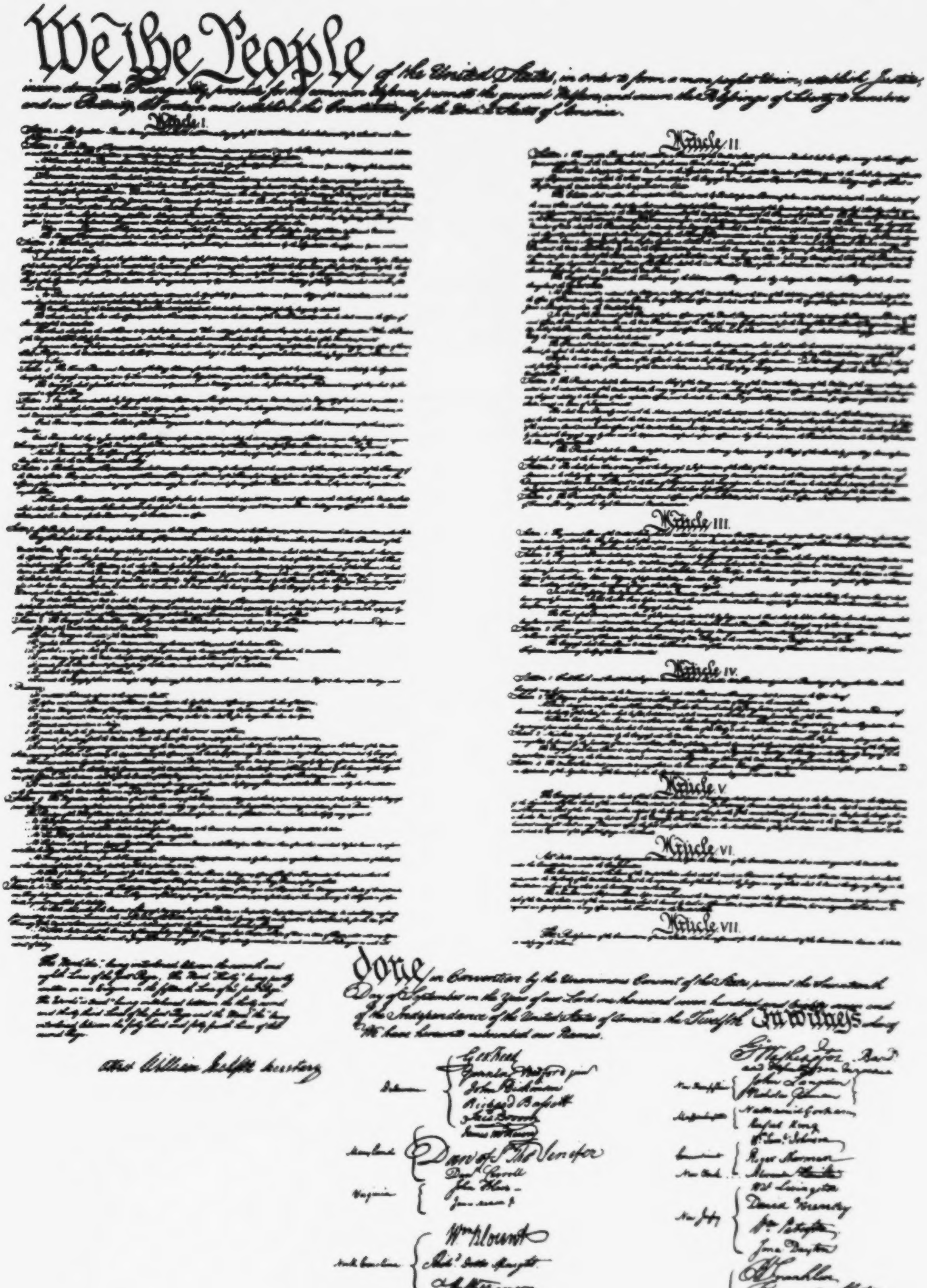
The tears his beauteous cheeks ran down,
He ſtorm'd, he blow'd the burning wound;
Then flying to a neighbouring grove,
Thus plantive told the Queen of Love.

Ah! ah, mama, ah me, I die,
A little inſect, wing'd to fly;
Its call'd a BEE, on yonder plain,
It ſtung me, oh! I die with pain!

Then VENUS mildly thus rejoin'd,
If you, my dear, ſuch anguiſh find,
From the reſentment of a BEE,
Think what thoſe feel, who're ſtung by thee.

Appendix C

ARNEWS ART



We the People

Article I.

Article II.

Article III.

Article IV.

Article V

Article VI.

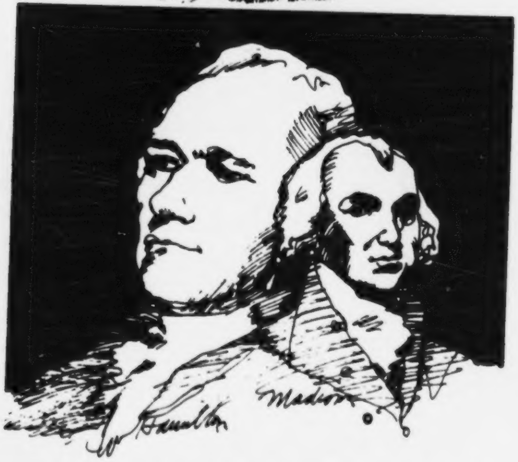
Article VII.

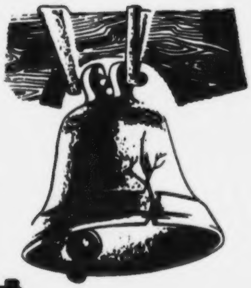
done

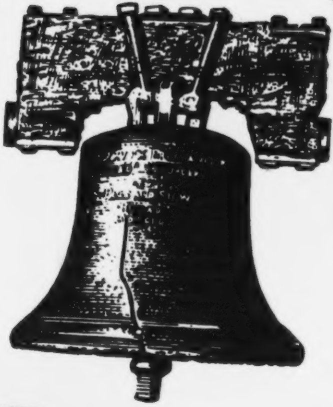
In Witness

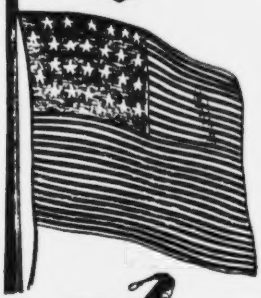
BEST COPY AVAILABLE

We the People of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.









THE
CONSTITUTION

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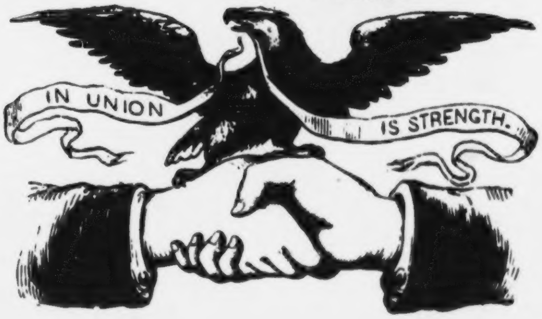
E PLURIBUS UNUM

IN UNION IS STRENGTH.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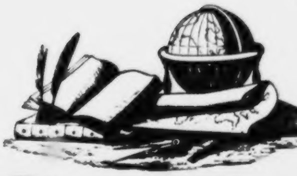
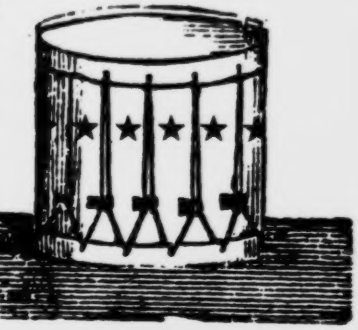
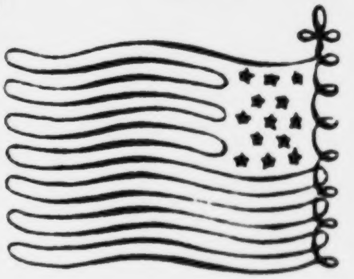
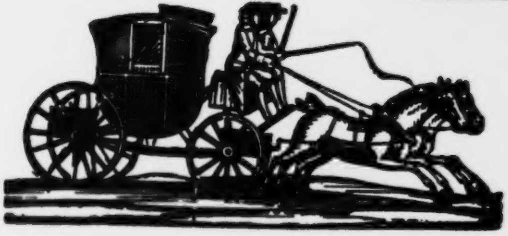
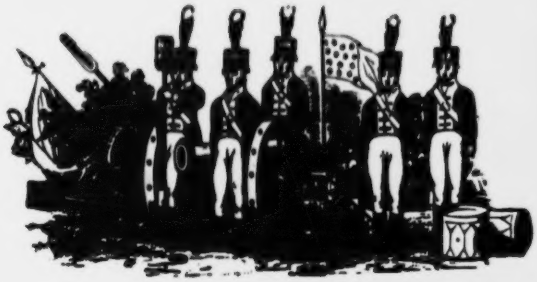
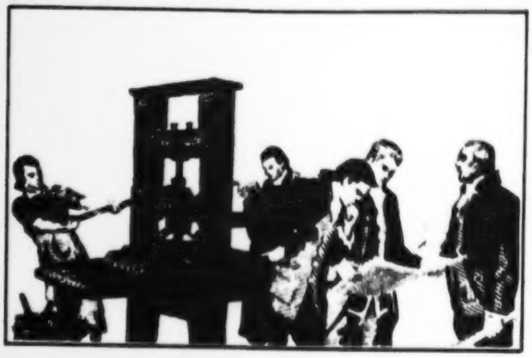


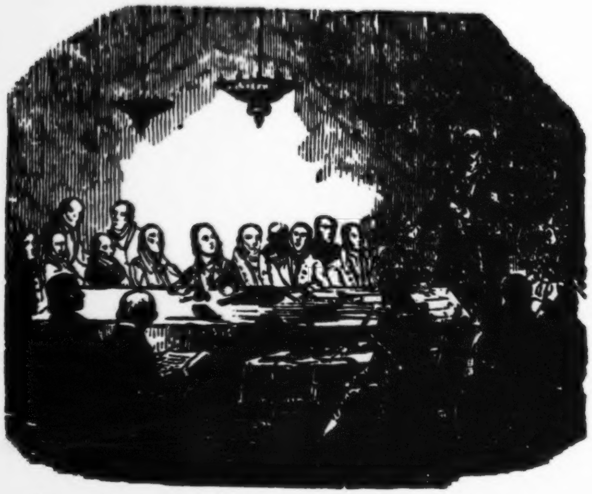




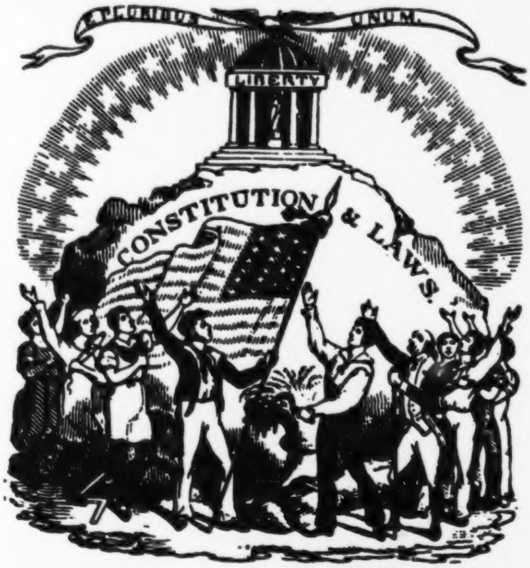




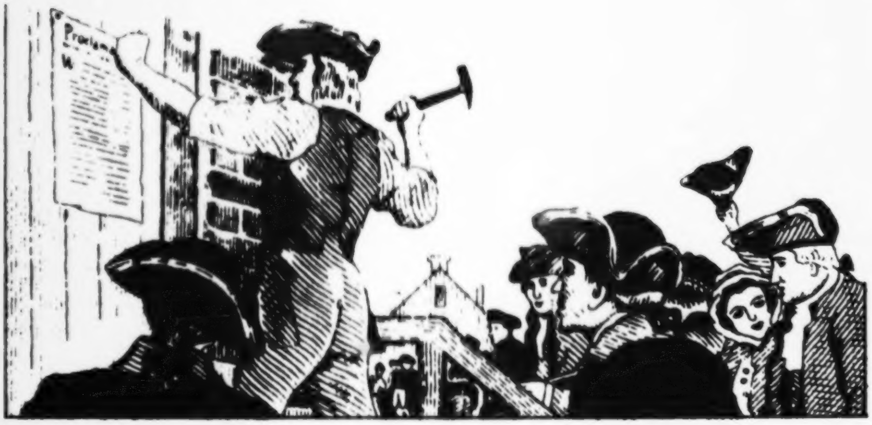


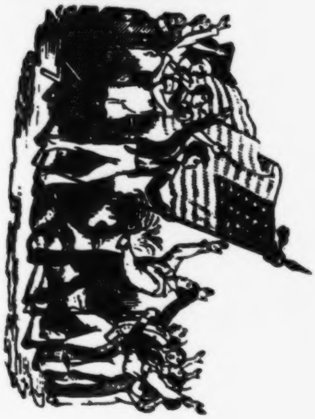


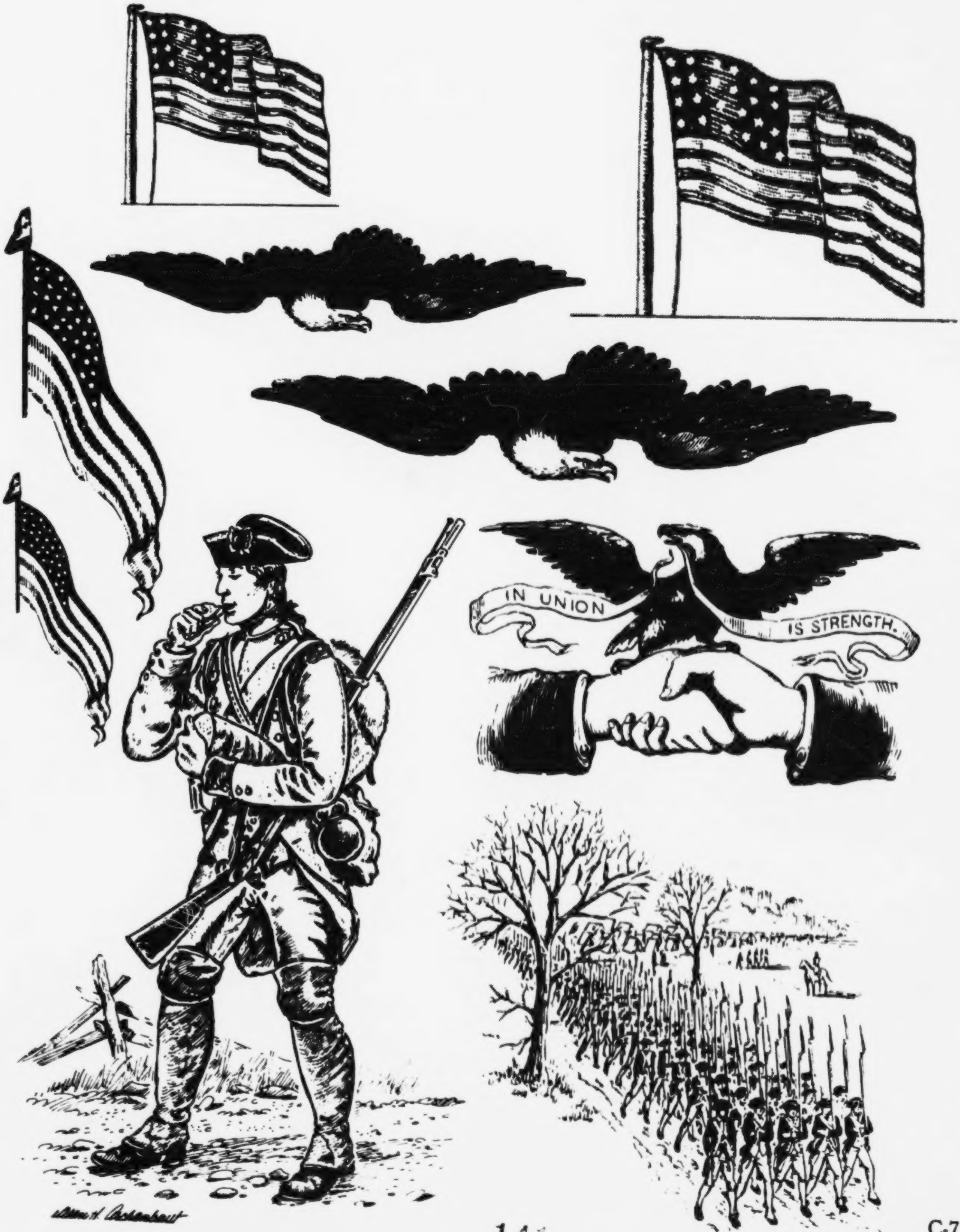
Convention at Philadelphia forming the Constitution.



E PLURIBUS UNUM
LIBERTY
CONSTITUTION & LAWS






IN UNION
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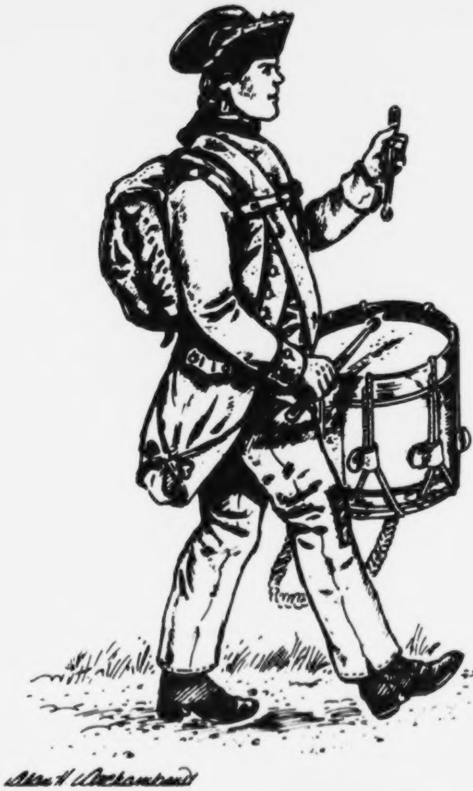
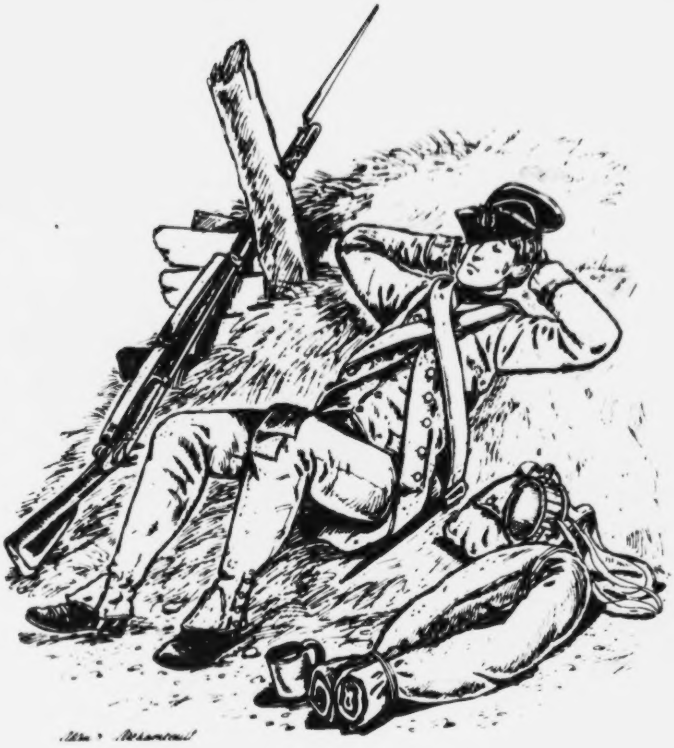
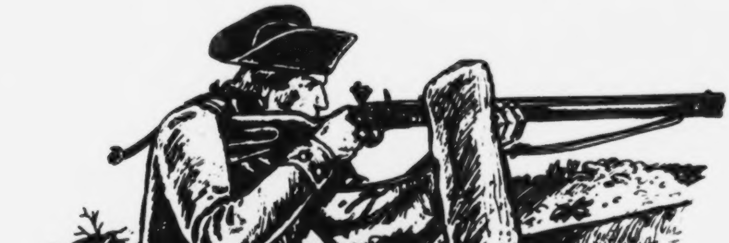

Alan H Archambault

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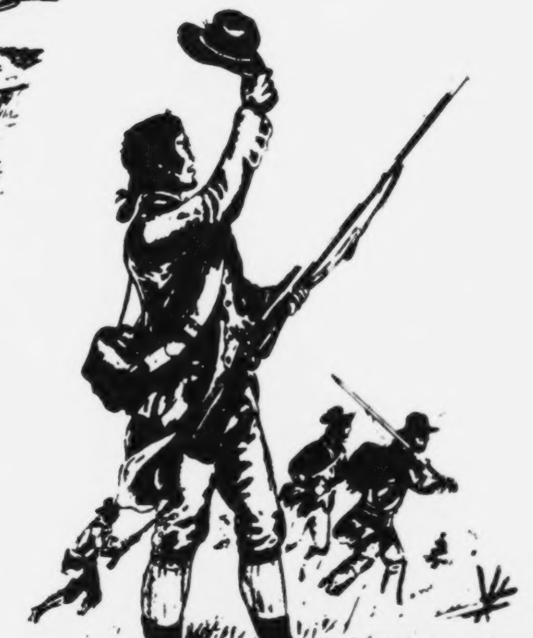
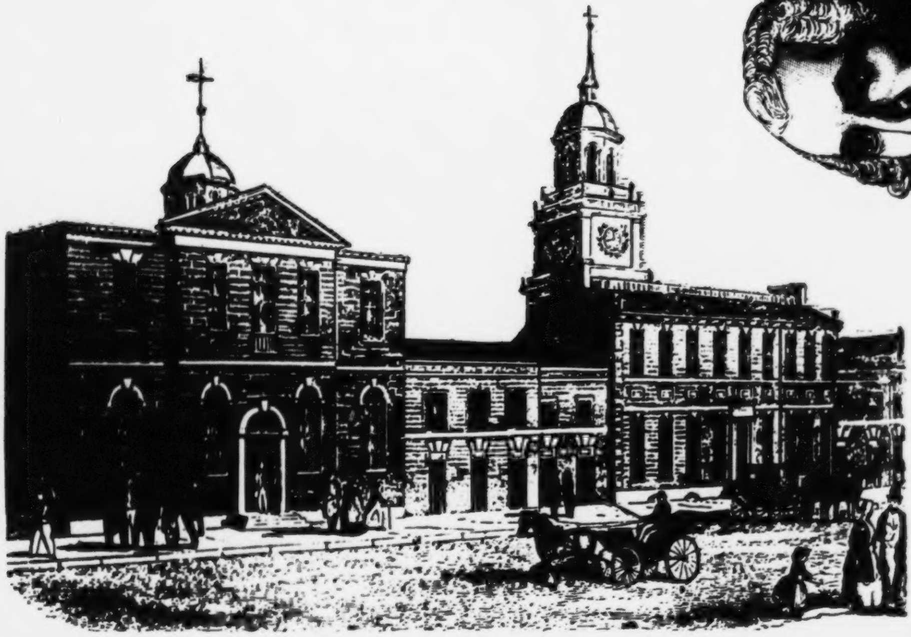
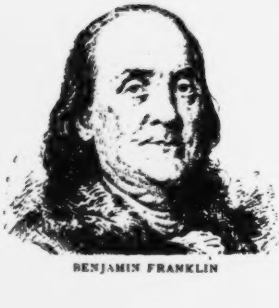
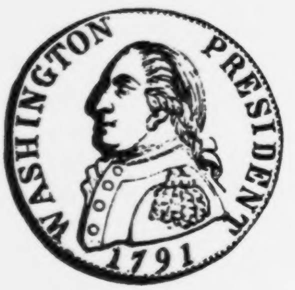




Pennsylvania State House, Philadelphia



BENJAMIN FRANKLIN


WASHINGTON PRESIDENT
1791

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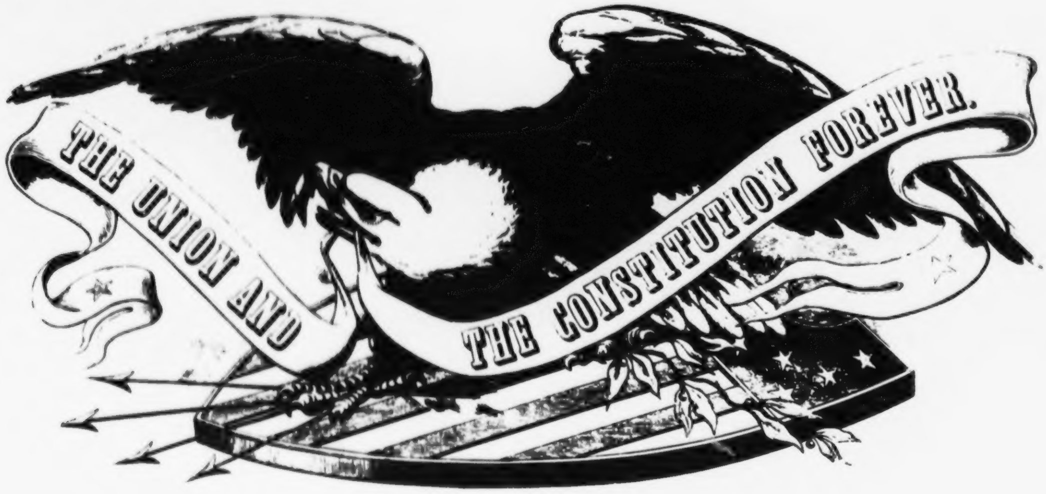
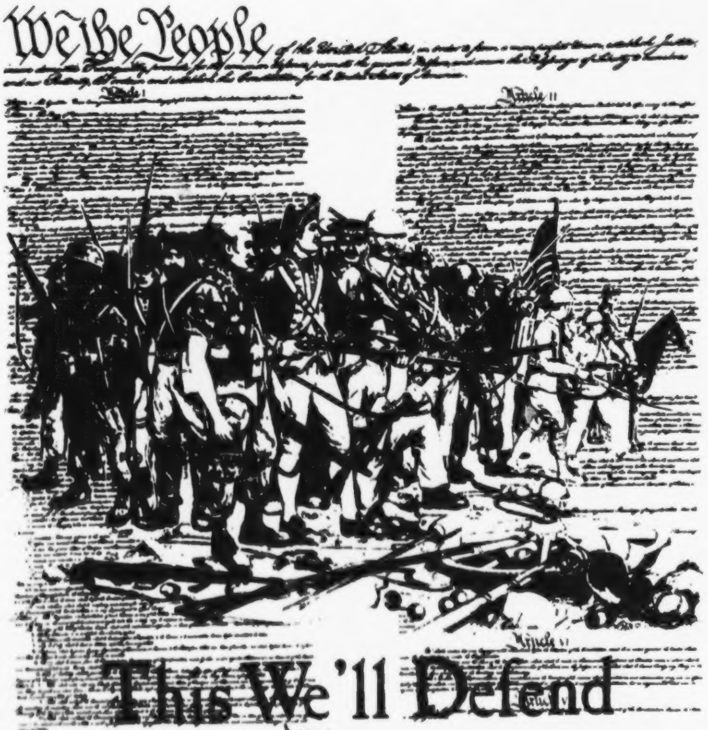
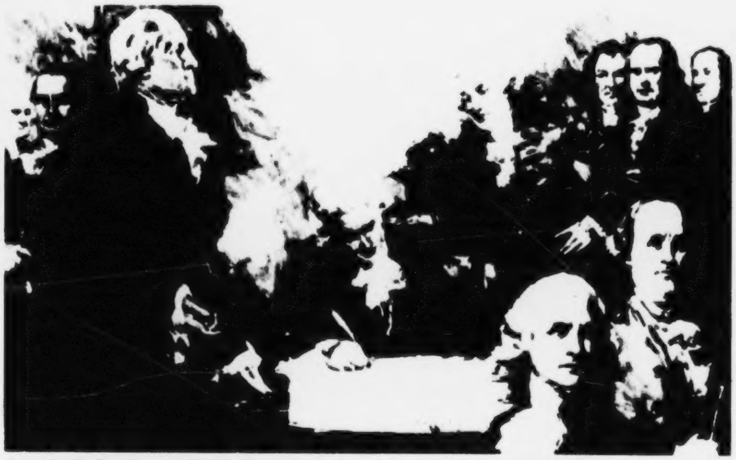
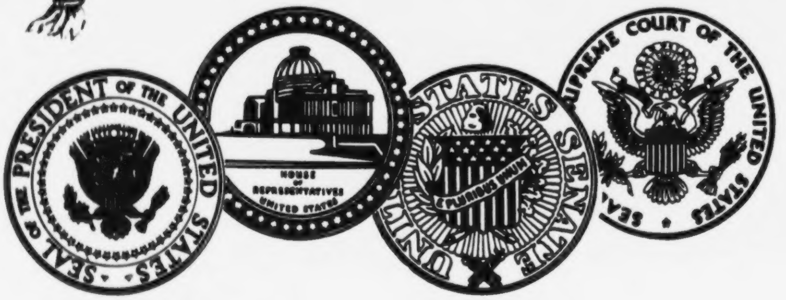

THE UNION AND THE CONSTITUTION FOREVER.


We the People
This We'll Defend

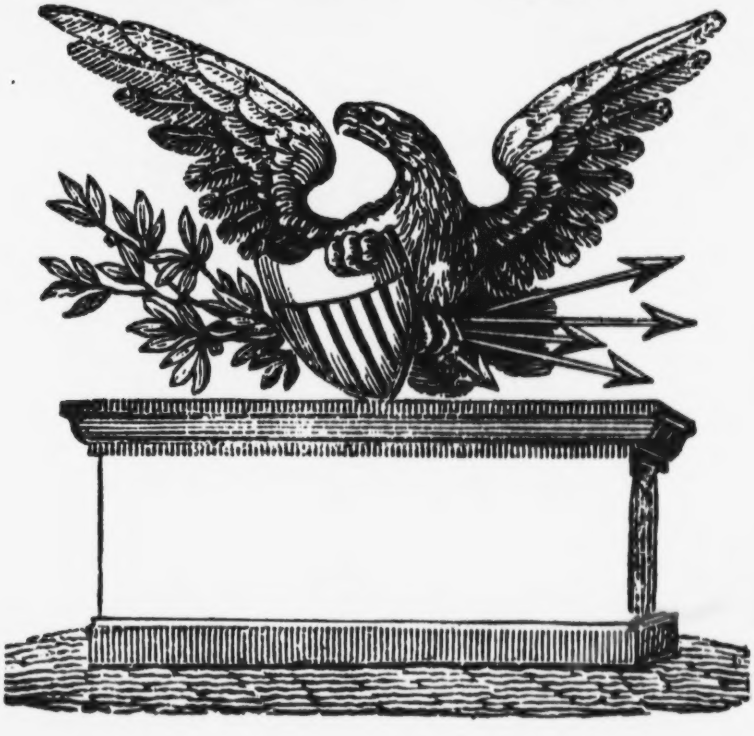
THE UNION AND THE CONSTITUTION FOREVER

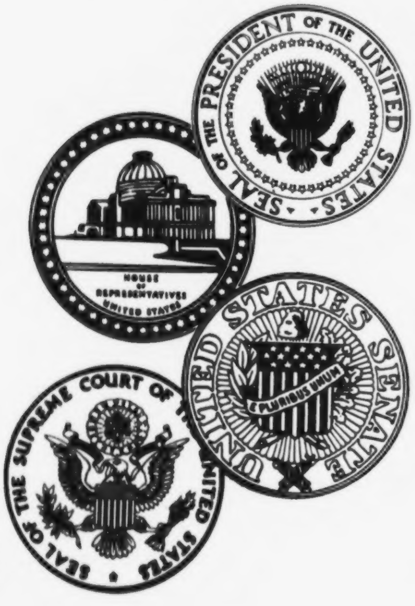


Poster for the Sesquicentennial of the Constitution by Howard Chandler Christy. *National Archives.*

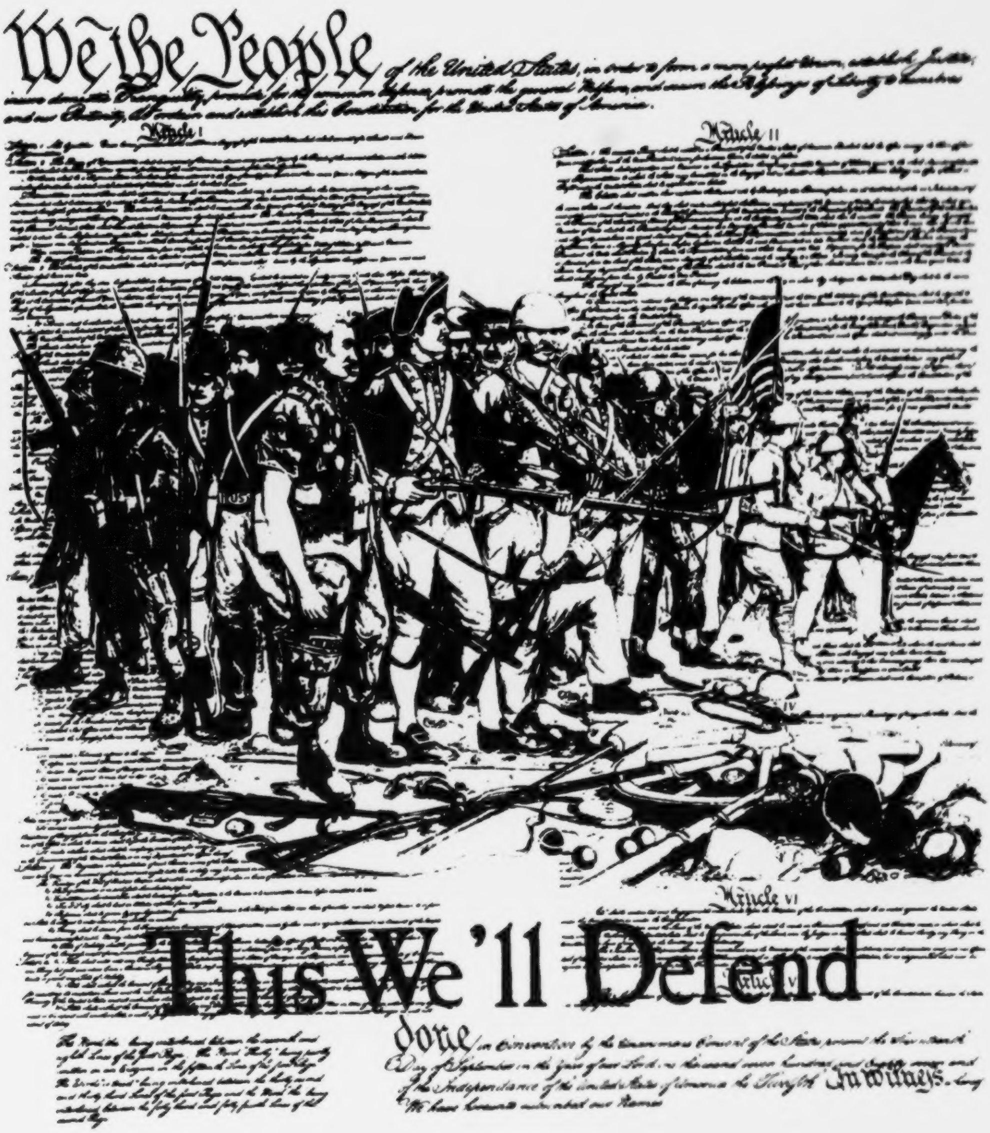


SEAL OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES UNITED STATES
UNITED STATES SENATE
E PLURIBUS UNUM
SEAL OF THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES





SEAL OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES UNITED STATES
UNITED STATES SENATE
E PLURIBUS UNUM
SEAL OF THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES


We the People
Article I
Article II
Article VI
This We'll Defend
done
In Witness

We the People

We the People

We the People of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Bleſsings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

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We the People

We the People

We the People

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Appendix D

Chronology of Historical and Significant Events: 1783—1803

Chronology of Bicentennial Dates

September 3, 1783: Treaty of Paris ending the Revolutionary War is signed between Great Britain and the United States in Paris.

November 25, 1783: British troops evacuate the city of New York.

December 23, 1783: George Washington resigns his commission as Commander-in-Chief of American forces.

March 28 1785: Mount Vernon Conference takes place at George Washington's Virginia plantation.

January 16 1786: Virginia adopts a statute for religious freedom which is drafted by Thomas Jefferson and introduced by James Madison.

January 21, 1786: Virginia legislature invites all states to a meeting in Annapolis to be held in September.

August 7, 1786: Congress considers a motion by Charles Pinckney to amend the Articles of Confederation. Congress declines the motion.

September 11-14, 1786: The Annapolis Convention takes place in Annapolis, Maryland. Five states attend the conference and adopt a resolution calling for a new convention in Philadelphia in order to amend the Articles of Confederation.

February 4 1787: Shays Rebellion ends in the state of Massachusetts.

February 21, 1787: Congress of the Confederacy endorses the resolution calling for a convention to amend the Articles of Confederation.

May 25, 1787: Opening of the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia. Fifty-five delegates attend the proceedings.

May 29, 1787: The Virginia Plan is proposed by Edmund Randolph. The plan describes a completely new reorganization of the government which would replace the existing Articles of Confederation.

June 17, 1787: The New Jersey Plan is proposed before the Convention. The plan is an attempt by the small states to guarantee their rights if a strong central government is agreed upon. They feel that the states of Virginia, Pennsylvania and Massachusetts would control the law-making process if the entire Virgina Plan is accepted.

June 19, 1787: Delegates at the Constitutional Convention decide to conceive a new national government rather than amend the Articles of Confederation.

July 13, 1787:	Northwest Ordinance is enacted by Congress. The ordinance opened areas north of the Ohio River and west to the Mississippi River for settlement and survey.
August 6, 1787:	A 23 article document is presented before the Convention by the drafting committee.
August 6- September 10, 1787:	The Great Debate takes place over drafting the Constitution.
August 8, 1787:	A two-year term for the House of Representatives is adopted.
August 9, 1787	A six-year term for the Senate is adopted.
August 16, 1787:	Congress is given the right to regulate foreign trade and interstate commerce.
September 6, 1787:	A four-year term for President is adopted.
September 8, 1787:	A five-man committee is appointed to prepare the final draft.
September 12, 1787:	The drafting committee submits its draft to the Convention.
September 13-15, 1787:	The Convention examines the draft and makes a few changes.
September 17, 1787:	The Constitution is signed by 42 of original 55 delegates and the Convention adjourns.
September 20, 1787:	Congress receives the proposed Constitution.
September 26-27, 1787:	Some Congressional representatives seek to censure the Convention for failing to follow Congress' instructions of only revising the Articles of Confederation.
September 28, 1787:	Congress resolves to submit the proposed Constitution to special state ratifying conventions.
October 27, 1787:	The first "Federalist" paper appears in New York City newspapers. Written under the pseudonym, "Publius," 85 papers appeared between October 1787 to May 1788. The papers were written by Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay defending the proposed Constitution.
December 7, 1787:	Delaware becomes the first state to unanimously ratify the Constitution.
December 12, 1787:	Pennsylvania ratifies the Constitution by a 46 to 23 vote.
December 18, 1787:	New Jersey unanimously ratifies the Constitution.
January 2, 1788:	Georgia unanimously ratifies the Constitution.
January 9, 1788:	Connecticut ratifies the Constitution by a vote of 128 to 40.
February 6, 1788:	Massachusetts ratifies the Constitution by a close vote of 187 to 168.

March 24, 1788:	Rhode Island, which did not attend the Convention, holds a popular referendum rather than a state convention. The Constitution is rejected by a vote of 2,708 to 237. Federalists do not participate.
April 28, 1788:	Maryland ratifies the Constitution by a 63 to 11 vote.
May 23, 1788:	South Carolina ratifies the Constitution by a vote of 149 to 73.
June 21, 1788:	New Hampshire becomes the ninth state to ratify the Constitution by a vote of 57 to 47 making it our new form of government.
June 25, 1788:	Virginia, despite very strong opposition, ratifies the Constitution by 89 to 79.
July 2, 1788:	The President of Congress announces that the Constitution has been ratified by the nine needed states.
July 26, 1788:	New York ratifies the Constitution by a slim margin of 30 to 27.
August 2, 1788:	North Carolina declines to ratify the Constitution until a bill of rights is added.

A Young Republic

September 13, 1788:	Congress selects New York City as the site of the new federal government, and chooses dates for appointments and balloting of presidential electors.
October 10, 1788:	The Congress of the Confederacy completes its last day of existence.
December 23, 1788:	Maryland cedes ten square miles to Congress for a federal city.
January 7, 1789:	Presidential electors are chosen.
February 4, 1789:	Presidential electors vote choosing George Washington as President and John Adams as Vice-President. Elections for Senators and Representatives take place in the states.
March 4, 1789:	The First Congress convenes in New York.
April 1, 1789:	The House of Representatives elects Frederick A. Muhlenberg of Pennsylvania as its speaker.
April 6, 1789:	The Senate chooses John Langdon as its temporary speaker.
April 30, 1789:	George Washington is inaugurated as the first United States President. The oath is delivered at the corner of Wall and Board Streets in New York City.
July 27, 1789:	Congress establishes the Department of Foreign Affairs. In later years it becomes the Department of State.
August 7, 1789:	The War Department is established.
September 2, 1789:	Congress establishes the Treasury Department.
September 22, 1789:	The Office of the Postmaster-General is established.

September 24, 1789:	Congress passes the Judiciary Act which establishes the Supreme Court, 13 district Courts and the office of the Attorney General. In future years there are other Judiciary Acts which re-shape the United States judicial system.
September 25, 1789:	Congress submits to the states 12 amendments to the Constitution which were called for during the ratifying process.
September 29, 1789:	Congress establishes the Department of the Army under the Constitution.
November 20, 1789:	New Jersey ratifies ten of the twelve amendments which will become the Bill of Rights.
November 21, 1789:	North Carolina ratifies the Constitution by a 194 to 77 vote.
December 19, 1789:	Maryland ratifies the Bill of Rights.
December 22, 1789:	North Carolina ratifies the Bill of Rights.
January 25, 1790:	New Hampshire ratifies the Bill of Rights.
January 28, 1790:	Delaware ratifies the Bill of Rights.
February 24, 1790:	New York ratifies the Bill of Rights.
March 10, 1790:	Pennsylvania ratifies the Bill of Rights.
May 29, 1790:	Rhode Island ratifies the Constitution by a vote of 34 to 32.
June 7, 1790:	Rhode Island ratifies the Bill of Rights.
June 20, 1790:	The House of Representatives votes 32 to 29 to locate the national capitol on a ten-square mile plot on the Potomac River and designates Philadelphia as the temporary capitol.
October 18, 1790:	In its first expedition against the western Indians, United States troops, led by General Josiah Harmar, are defeated in battle against Ohio Indians. A five-year Indian War begins.
December 6, 1790:	Congress moves from New York to the temporary capitol of Philadelphia.
January 10, 1791:	Vermont ratifies the Constitution.
February 25, 1791:	President Washington signs a bill establishing the Bank of the United States.
March 3, 1791:	Congress passes the Whiskey Act setting an excise tax on distilled spirits and stills.
March 4, 1791:	Vermont is admitted as the 14th state in the Union.
September 10 1791:	General Arthur St. Clair leads an expedition into the Northwest Territory in order to establish forts in the region.
November 3, 1791:	Vermont ratifies the Bill of Rights.
November 4, 1791:	General Arthur St. Clair's expeditionary force is defeated by a force of Indians near the Maumee and Wabash Rivers.

December 15, 1791:	Virginia ratifies the Bill of Rights making the document a part of the United States Constitution.
March 5, 1792:	General Arthur St. Clair is replaced as the military commander of United States forces in the Northwest Territory by General Anthony Wayne. Wayne becomes the commander of the newly designated Legion of the United States.
April 2, 1792:	Congress passes the Coinage Act establishing a national mint in Philadelphia.
May 8, 1792:	Congress passes the Militia Act which authorizes the states to draft all able-bodied men between the ages of 18 to 45 into militia brigades.
June 1, 1792:	Kentucky becomes the 15th state to enter the Union.
November 1, 1792:	A general election is held to choose electors for the nation's second presidential election.
November 5, 1792:	Congress convenes for the second time in Philadelphia.
December 5, 1792:	George Washington is elected for his second term of Presidential office.
March 4, 1793:	George Washington is inaugurated as President of the United States.
April 22, 1793:	President Washington issues a proclamation of neutrality for the United States in the war that has begun between France and Great Britain.
December 31, 1793:	Thomas Jefferson resigns as Secretary of State. He is replaced by Edmund Randolph on January 2, 1794.
March 5, 1794:	Congress submits to the states for ratification the 11th Amendment which prohibits a citizen of one state to sue another state.
March 27, 1794:	Congress establishes the Department of the Navy.
July 1794:	The Whiskey Rebellion breaks out in the Monongahela Valley of Pennsylvania by farmers protesting the Whiskey Act.
August 7, 1794:	President Washington calls out the militias of Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania and New Jersey to put down the Whiskey Rebellion. The force totals 12,900 men.
August 20, 1794:	At the Battle of Fallen Timbers in northwest Ohio, General Wayne's Legion of the United States defeats a force of 2,000 Indians ending the Northwest Indian War.

November 19, 1794:	John Jay, Ambassador to Great Britain, successfully ends negotiations with Britain on a commercial treaty, commonly known as Jay's Treaty. It mandates that all British forces will withdraw from the borders of the Northwest Territory and opens trade between Britain and the United States.
January 2, 1795:	Former Postmaster General Timothy Pickering is appointed Secretary of War. He replaces Henry Knox, who retires.
January 31, 1795:	Alexander Hamilton resigns as Secretary of the Treasury. He is succeeded by Oliver Wolcott, Jr.
June 24, 1795:	Jay's Treaty narrowly passes the Senate after lengthy debate.
August 3, 1795:	General Wayne signs the Treaty of Greenville with 12 Ohio Indian tribes. The Indians cede large tracts of land to the United States.
August 14, 1795:	President Washington signs Jay's Treaty amidst disagreement in the House of Representatives.
August 19, 1795:	Secretary of State Edmund Randolph resigns under suspicion of corruption. The charges are never proven. He is succeeded by Thomas Pickering in December.
December 10, 1795:	Thomas Pickering becomes Secretary of State. James McHenry becomes Secretary of War on January 27, 1796.
January 1, 1796:	President Washington nominates Oliver Ellsworth as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. Ellsworth's appointment is confirmed on March 4th.
June 1, 1796:	Tennessee is the 16th state admitted into the Union.
September 17, 1796:	President George Washington publishes his Farewell Address.
November 4, 1796:	The United States signs a treaty with Tripoli seeking an end to Barbary pirate raids on American shipping.
November 15, 1796:	Incensed over the Jay Treaty, France suspends diplomatic relations with the United States.
December 7, 1796:	In the nation's third presidential election, John Adams is elected President and Thomas Jefferson is elected Vice-President.
March 4, 1797:	John Adams is inaugurated as the second President of the United States.
May 10, 1797:	The first ship of the United States Navy, the U.S.S. United States, is launched.
June 24, 1797:	Worried about a war with France, Congress passes a bill calling for a 80,000 man militia force to be on constant alert in the event of hostilities.

August 28, 1797:	The United States signs a treaty with Tunis in an attempt to end continuing Barbary attacks on American shipping.
September 7, 1797:	The U.S.S. Constellation is launched.
October 18, 1797:	American peace commissioners are approached by three French agents of Foreign Minister Talleyrand. As a precondition to treaty discussions, they suggest a large American "loan" to France and $240,000 bribe. This incident, known as the XYZ Affair, evokes the response from the commissioners, "millions for defense, but not one cent for tribute." The affair results in an undeclared naval war with France.
October 21, 1797:	The U.S.S. Constitution, "Old Ironsides," is launched in Boston.
January 8, 1798:	The 11th Amendment is ratified. It prohibits a citizen of one state to sue another state.
April 7, 1798:	The Mississippi Territory is established by Congress. It comprises parts of present day Alabama and Mississippi.
May 3, 1798:	Congress establishes the Department of the Navy as a department separate from the War Department.
May 21, 1798:	Benjamin Stoddert is named Secretary of the Navy.
July 2, 1798:	George Washington is named Commander-in-Chief of the United States Army in response to the growing tensions with France.
July 11, 1798:	Congress establishes the Marine Corps.
November 9-10, 1799:	The French Directoire government is overthrown and Napoleon Bonaparte proclaims himself ruler of France.
December 14, 1799:	George Washington dies at Mount Vernon at the age of 67.
March 8, 1800:	Napoleon Bonaparte receives American peace commissioners. Formal negotiations begin in April.
April 24, 1800:	The Library of Congress is established.
June 1800:	The Federal Government leaves Philadelphia and moves to the permanent capitol, Washington.
September 30, 1800:	The Treaty of Morfontaine, or the Convention of 1800, is signed by the United States and France ending their undeclared war.
June 12, 1800:	James McHenry is replaced by Samuel Dexter as Secretary of War.
November 17, 1800:	Congress convenes for the first time in the capitol city of Washington.
December 3, 1800:	The fourth presidential election is held. Final results will not be known until February 11, 1801.

January 20, 1801: President Adams nominates John Marshall as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court.

February 11, 1801: The presidential election results are tallied revealing a tie between Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr. The election is constitutionally tossed into the House of Representatives for decision.

February 17, 1801: After an all-night session and 36 separate ballots, the House of Representatives elects Thomas Jefferson as the third President of the United States.

March 4, 1801: Thomas Jefferson is inaugurated as President of the United States.

May 14, 1801: The Pasha of Tripoli declares war upon the United States. President Jefferson reacts by sending naval warships to the Mediterranean Sea. The war lasts into 1805.

March 16, 1802: Congress passes legislation establishing the United States Military Academy at West Point, New York.

April 30, 1802: Congress enacts the Enabling Act which allows for territories in the northwest organized under the Northwest Ordinance to become states.

July 4, 1802: The United States Military Academy officially opens at West Point, New York.

March 1, 1803: Ohio becomes the 17th state to join the Union.

May 2, 1803: For 15 million dollars, the United States purchases the entire Louisiana Territory from France. The acquisition doubles the size of the United States. A total of 13 states eventually will be carved out of the region; Arkansas, Colorado, Iowa, Kansas, Louisiana, Minnesota, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, North Dakota, Oklahoma, South Dakota and Wyoming.

August 31, 1803: The Lewis and Clark Expedition sets out down the Ohio River beginning a three-year exploration of the western United States to the Pacific Ocean.

December 9, 1803: Congress passes the 12th Amendment to the Constitution. The amendment provides for the election of the President and Vice-President on separate ballots. The bill is sent to the states for ratification. The amendment will be accepted in September 1804.

Appendix E

RESOURCES

RESOURCES FOR TEACHING ABOUT THE U.S. CONSTITUTION

AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION

Update on Law-Related Education. Magazine, published three times a year; a 9 issue constitution packet is available. Current issues focus on ideas and teaching strategies on the Constitution. Grades 5-12. $14.50 for ten-issue packet: PC# 738-0100. $10.50 for subscription (3 issues each year): PC# 738-2000. (Order from ABA, noting PC numbers, from address above.)

Salute to the Constitution. 1985 - 1987. Newsletter, published three times a year, with current information for educators and project leaders on bicentennial activities and resources for young people. Free upon request. Grades K - 12.

Helping Children to Understand the Constitution. Grades K-6.
Celebrating Our Constitutional Heritage with Young People. Grades 6-12. Handbooks of activities and resources for use in communities and schools. Youth leaders and teachers should find the ideas useful in helping young people to explore their constitutional heritage. $2 for each publication to cover postage/handling. Order form YEFC at the address above.

(The following items are *WE THE PEOPLE Bicentennial Publications:* Order from address above noting PC#.)

The Blessings of Liberty - Bicentennial Lectures at the National Archives. Edited by Robert Peck and Ralph S. Pollock. A collection of essays by prominent scholars designed to help people understand the Constitution - resource for planning bicentennial programs. $4.95. Order Fulfillment - 468-0005.

A Handbook on Community Forums on the Constitution. Contains community forum scripts/tips on how to organize and conduct community forums/discussion questions/background legal memoranda. $10. Order Fulfillment PC# 468-0011.

A Program Planning Guide. For conducting community bicentennial activities. $5.00. Order Fulfillment PC# 468-0006.

Resource Book and three colorful 17"X22" posters. For community/school groups. $8.50. PC# 469-0100.

Speaking and Writing Truth: Community Forums on the First Amendment. Guidebook for planning forums in the community, can be adapted for high school students with six scripts on First Amendments topics. Grades 7-12. $4.95 Order Fulfillment PC# 468-00044.

AMERICAN BAR FOUNDATION

Sources of Our Liberties - Documentary Origins of Individual Liberties in the United States Constitution and Bill of Rights, edited by Richard L. Perry. Revised edition,

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This list draws heavily on a resource guide prepared by the Special Committee on Youth Education for Citizenship of the American Bar Association. The Commission thanks the ABA for its assistance in preparing this guide.

1978. (American Bar Foundation, American Bar Center, 750 North Lake Shore Drive, Chicago, IL 60611.) Single volume containing English and American documents constituting the major legal sources of our individual liberties. Starting with the Magna Carta and ending with the Bill of Rights. Commentary and the text for each are included. Basic resource for teachers and secondary students. $7.50 plus $2.50 postage and handling charge.

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

Bicentennial Essays on the Constitution. (American Historical Association, 400 A Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003.) Pamphlets designed for advanced placement students and teachers by noted scholars on historical aspects of the Constitution from the founding period to the present. Grades 8-12. Five available now. $5 each plus $1 for postage and handling.

AMERICAN NEWSPAPER PUBLISHERS ASSOCIATION FOUNDATION and other supporting foundations.

The First Amendment: Free Speech and a Free Press, by Thomas Eveslage. Philadelphia: Thomas Eveslage, 1985. (School of Communications and Theater, Temple University, Philadelphia, PA 19122) Soft-cover curriculum guide for high school teachers; with related court cases and resource listings included. Grades 8-12. $4.50.

AMERICANS UNITED RESEARCH FOUNDATION

Religious Freedom in America: A Teacher's Guide, by Charles Haynes. Washington, D.C.: Americans United Research Foundation 1986. (900 Silver Springs Avenue, Silver Springs, MD 20910.) Background articles and resources providing secondary teachers with material for teaching about religion and religious liberty in America. An article by Robert T. Handy covers the historical forces leading up to the adoption of the religious clause of the First Amendment. Another article by Isidore Starr reviews the interpretations of the clause by the Supreme Court. Resource listings follow. $2 for postage and handling.

CARL VINSON INSTITUTE OF LAW

An Introduction to Law in Georgia, by members of the Young Lawyers Division, State Bar of Georgia, edited by Ann Blum and R. Ernest Taylor, 1985. (Carl Vinson Institute of Government, University of Georgia, Terrell Hall, Athens, GA 30605.) Classroom tested text designed to give young people accurate yet readable information about the law, useful in Georgia and nationally. Part 3 - *Constitutional Protections*, focuses on the Constitution. Grades 6-12. $14.95.

CENTER FOR CIVIC EDUCATION

National Bicentennial Competition on the Constitution and Bill of Rights. Following a six-week course of study, class competitions for students in the fifth, eighth, and eleventh grades are conducted in each Congressional district. Winning classes from each state will compete in Washington, D.C. at year's end. (Center for Civic Education, 5146 Douglas Fir Road, Calabasas, CA 91302; (818) 340-9320.)

CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS FOUNDATION

The Bill of Rights in Action. Newsletter published four times a year, addresses issues relating to the Bill of Rights. Includes directed discussions of these topics with suggestion for learning strategies. Resource for leaders and students. Grades 8-12. (Constitutional Rights Foundation, 601, Kingsley Drive, Los Angeles, CA 90005.) Write for a free subscription.

American Album. This secondary school history text links the people, events, eras, and issues in the American history curriculum to a study of the Constitution and its place in American life. Activities/illustrations for eight units. #10341 AA Starter Edition, $12.50 ($1.50 for postage and handling): #10342 AA Class Set, $165.00; #10343 AA Student Edition, $5.50.

FAIRFAX COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS

The Constitution and the Early Republic. (Fairfax County Public Schools, Department of Instructional Services, The Donald Lacey Institutional Center, 3705 Crest Drive, Annandale, VA 22003.) Teacher's guide and Resource Handbook for a fifth grade unit. Focuses on 1783-1815 in American history. Nine-week unit/humanities approach integrating cultural studies and ideas of the period with the political, social and economic history. Curriculum document was drafted, tested, and revised in the schools. Write for an order form. Grade 5. $15.

JEFFERSON FOUNDATION

The Jefferson Meeting on the Constitution: The Constitution in the Classroom. (The Jefferson Foundation, 1529 18th Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036.) Three part teacher's guide to using the Jefferson meeting as an educational tool. Utilizes student involvement, first in small groups dealing with specific issues, and then in general session debating these topics. The Jefferson meeting is designed to promote awareness of governmental institutions and their history. *Grades 8-12.* $12 for planning guide, $18 for teacher's handbook, and $.75 for each of 8 discussion guides.

LAW IN A CHANGING SOCIETY

The Constitution. (Law in a Changing Society, c/o State Bar of Texas, P.O. Box 12487, Austin, TX 78711.) Supplemental teaching units for secondary social studies utilizing Law in a Changing Society Materials. Units focus on the Constitution, Power (Federalism and the Separation of Powers), and the Supreme Court. Grades 8-12. $15, orders prepaid.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES

The Constitution: Evolution of a Government. (Order from SIRS, Inc., P.O. Box 2507, Boca Raton, FL 33427.) A supplemental teaching unit: 34 documents from the Archives/teachers guide with 20 classroom lessons (three reading levels). Units: The Making of the Constitution, The Beginning of a Government, The Evolution of a Constitutional Issue (First Amendment: Religious Freedom). Grades 8-12. $35

(Order the remaining materials from the National Archives and Records Service, Washington, D.C. 20408. Minimum order, $5. For orders up to $10, add $1.50 for handling; for orders form $10 to $50, add $3. Ask for a full listing of constitutional materials. See poster listings in this bibliography, too.)

A More Perfect Union: The Creation of the United States Constitution. Chronicles the events in Philadelphia in 1787 that led up to the Constitution of the United States. Full text and photographs of the Constitution. #216 $2.50.

The Formation of the Union: A Documentary History. Describes the period when the original 13 colonies joined together to form an independent nation: 1774-1791. Focus is on major events from the first Continental Congress through the adoption of the Bill of Rights. Photographs of 38 original documents. #260 $2.50.

Charters of Freedom: Booklet/basic documents #202 $1.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHRISTIANS AND JEWS

U.S. Constitution SIgn-On Information and Documents. (The National Council of Christians and Jews, Inc. 71 Fifth Avenue, Suite 1100, New York, NY 10003.) This kit contains materials for classroom activities to help children learn about - and experience - the richness of democracy in everyday life. The children literally "sign on" by putting their names on a special document with a reproduction of the Constitution on it. Teacher workshop plans. Grades 1-12. Contact local offices of NCCJ to get a kit or write to the national office above. Free.

PROJECT '87

A joint undertaking of the American Historical Association and the American Political Science Association.

Lessons on the Constitution: Supplements to High School Courses in American History, Government and Civics, by John J. Patrick and Richard C. Remy. Social Science Education Consortium, Inc, and Project '87. 1985. (Order from Social Science Education Consortium, Inc. 855 Broadway, Boulder, CO 80302.) Soft-cover, spiral bound teacher's resource, 302 pages, with 60 lessons for students. Lessons are designed as supplements to high school sources in civics, American History, and American government. Grades 8-12. $19.50.

"The Blessings of Liberty" Project '87, 1986. See poster listings.

SOCIAL STUDIES DEVELOPMENT CENTER

Education on the Constitution in Secondary Schools - Teaching Strategies and Materials for the Bicentennial and Beyond, by John J. Patrick, Richard C. Remy, and Mary Jane Turner. Social Studies Development Center and the Eric Clearinghouse for Social Studies/Social Science Education. 1986. (Social Studies Development Center, Publications Manager, Suite 120, Indiana University, 2805 E. Tenth Street, Bloomington, IN 47405.) This volume assesses the status of the Constitution in the curriculum of secondary schools, presents exemplary lessons and teaching strategies, and reviews current projects and learning materials on the bicentennial. Grades 8-12. $10 plus $2 for postage and handling.

Lessons on the Federalist Papers: Supplements to High School Courses in American History, Government, and Civics by John Patrick, Richard Remy and Mary Jane Turner. 1987. This much-needed guide to teaching the Federalist Papers in the secondary schools aims to teach the origin and purposes of *The Federalist*, to focus on perennial issues of constitutional government, and to develop reasons for a commitment to the values of constitutional government which are fundamental parts of the American civic culture. Ten lessons, selections from *The Federalist*, and a select bibliography. Grades 8-12. $10 plus $2 for postage and handling.

SUPREME COURT HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Equal Justice Under Law: The Supreme Court in American Life, by M. Harrell and B. Anderson. *Instructor's guide to Equal Justice Under Law*, by Isidore Starr, et al. Washington, D.C.: The Supreme Court Historical Society in cooperation with the National Geographic Society. 1982. (Supreme Court Historical Society, 1511 K Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005.)

Soft-cover student book for junior/senior high school students, historical review of the Supreme Court. Instructor's guide provides classroom instructions and strategies. Grades 8-12. $2.50.

THE TAFT INSTITUTE

Constitutional Government in the American Setting, by Richard H. Leach. Washington, D.C.: The Taft Institute for Two-Party Government, 420 Lexington Avenue, New York, NY 10170.

Description of the American constitutional system/philosophical background, Constitution and time-line. Grades 5-12. $6 plus $1.50 for postage.

TELEVISION - REPORT BY ACTION FOR CHILDREN'S TELEVISION

Television, Children and the Constitutional Bicentennial, edited by Peggy Charren and Carol Hulsizer. Cambridge, MA: Action for Children's Television. 1986. Action for Children's Television, 20 University Road, Cambridge, MA 02138.

Programming opportunities for the 1987 Constitutional Bicentennial. Listings of planned programs, organizations to contact, and resources (books and films.) $10.

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH DAKOTA

History and Contents of the Constitution of the United States, by Ronald E. Pynn, Lloyd B. Ohmdahl, and Phil A. Harmeson. Grand Forks, ND: Bureau of Governmental Affairs. 1986. (Bureau of Governmental Affairs, University of North Dakota, Grand Forks, ND 58202.) A social studies study resource for 11th and 12th graders which includes historical background, analysis of the Constitution, copies of basic documents, and a glossary of constitutional terms. Material is planned as a unit for secondary schools and is useful for community study groups. Teacher's guide included upon request. Grades 11-12. $3.95 plus mailing costs.

BACKGROUND READING ON THE CONSTITUTION

This is a selected list of titles. Your school or local library will have more biographies, reference books, and histories relating to historical sources, the Constitution, the founders, and the period.

Bowen, Catherine Drinker. *Miracle at Philadelphia: The Story of the Constitutional Convention, May to September 1787*. Boston: Atlantic Monthly Press, 1986. (8

Arlington Street, Boston, MA 02116.) Reissue of a readable narrative of the creation of the Constitution. $8.95.

Bye, Thomas. *Our Constitution: A Working Plan for Democracy. Dennis Binkley. Great Documents that Shape American Freedoms.* Hayward, CA: Janus Book Publishers, Inc. 1986 (2501 Industrial Parkway West, Haryward, CA 94545.) These books can be used effectively with high school students or in lower grades as a special unite or enrichment material. *Our Constitution* is a work text that was developed for older students with learning, reading, and language problems. Each of the 8 units has a consistent format with a short scenario relating the major concept to the student's life, a vocabulary exercise, several lessons, and a unit review. *Great Documents* can be used with it or independently. Documents are reprinted carefully with related exercises and reviews. $18.90 for both books.

Currie, David P., Joyce Stevos, John Patrick, and Richard Remy. *The Constitution.* Glenview, IL: Scott Foresman, 1985. (1900 East Lake Avenue, Glenview, IL 60025.) Useful study book for grades 7-12 on the Constitution with background information, Constitutional annotations and glossary. Teacher's handbook includes lesson plans, seven Project '87 lessons, supplemental activities, and a Constitution test. $5.41 for text, $2.86 for teacher's handbook, add 6% for postage.

Farrand, Max. *The Framing of the Constitution of the United States.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1913. (302 Temple Street, New Haven, CT 06520.) Short classic account of the Constitutional Convention taken from Madison's notes and other sources. $8.95.

Feinberg, Barbara Silberdick. *The Constitution - Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow.* New York: Scholastic, Inc. 1986. (Scholastic Text Division, 2931 E. McCarty St., P.O. Box 7502, Jefferson City, MO 65102.) This supplementary text shows that the Constitution began as an experiment in self-government which has continued for 200 years, changing with the times. It covers the addition of the Bill of Rights, amendments, and the interpretation process. It contains the full text of the Constitution, review activities, and a glossary. Grades 6-9. Cat. 34772 $3.95 each (for orders of 20 or more.)

Fink, Sam. Illustrator and inscriber for: *The Constitution of the United States of America.* New York: Random House, 1986. (201 E. 50 St., New York, NY 10022.) A large artistic volume containing the complete Constitution, designed and published to honor the two-hundredth anniversary of the Constitution. Imaginative pictures illustrate each article and amendment of the Constitution on separate pages. A pictorial version of the Constitution that makes it easy to view as a document with distinct provisions. $25.

Fritz, Jean. *What's the Big Idea, Ben Franklin?, Where Was Patrick Henry on the 29th of May?, Why Don't You Get a Horse, Sam Adams?, Will You Sign Here, John Hancock?* New York: Coward McCann, Inc., 1974-76. (51 Madison Avenue, New York, NY 10010.) Four books on well-known Americans that focus on their personal qualities and the background of events in their time. Stories and descriptions make historical figures come alive for younger children.

Fritz, Jean *Shhh. We're Writing the Constitution.* New York: Putnam. 1987 (51 Madison Avenue, New York, NY 10010.) This book introduces young children to the men who wrote the Constitution and the times in which they lives. Grades 3-6. $5.95 paperback. $12.95 hardcover.

Hamilton, Alexander, James Madison, and John Jay. *The Federalist Papers*, ed. with an introduction by Roy T. Fairfield. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1981. (A number of other editions are also in print.) The important original arguments for the ratification of the Constitution, published anonymously as "letters" to the public by the authors starting in October, 1787. $7.95.

Hilton, Suzanne. *We The People: The Way We Were - 1783-1793*. Philadelphia: Westminster, 1981. (925 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, PA 19107.) Surveys the way that young people lived during the first ten years of independence. Read-aloud and background material for 4-8 grade students. $12.95.

Levy, Leonard. *Encyclopedia of the American Constitution*. New York: Macmillan, 1986. (866 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10022) Four-volume reference on all aspects of the Constitution. Grade 8-adult. $320 plus $6 shipping.

Lockwood, ALan L. and Harris, David E. *Reasoning with Democratic Values: Ethical Problems in United States History*. Teachers College Press, 1985. (1234 Amsterdam Avenue, New York, NY 10027.) Two soft-cover student books for secondary school students with readings on historical events with ethical dilemmas relating to democratic values. Vol. 1 6094-3 $8.95 Vol. 2 6095-1 $11.95. Teachers Manual 1601-X $11.95.

Morris, Richard B. *The American Revolution, The Constitution, The Founding of the Republic, The Indian Wars, and The War of 1812*. Minneapolis: Lerner Publication Company, 1986. (241 First Avenue North, Minneapolis, MN 55401.) Five history books for young people, grades 4-8, dealing with the founding period. The volume on the Constitution contains a simplified version of the document and historical background information at a reading level suitable for middle and junior high school students. $8.95 each.

Morris, Richard. *The Framing of the Constitution*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior. 1986. (Order from Eastern National Park and Monument Association, 313 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, PA 19106.) Replete with illustrations, this book summarizes the framing of the Constitution. It outlines the background of the times, describes the delegates, highlights the issues they faced, and covers the battle for ratification. The complete document is included. Grade 7-adult. $4.75.

Morris, Richard B. *Witnesses at the Creation: Hamilton, Madison, Jay and the Constitution*. New York: Holt Rinehart and Winston, 1985. (383 Madison Avenue, New York, NY 10017.) A description of how the Federalist Papers were written and used to promote ratification of the Constitution, for secondary school students. $16.95.

Peck, Robert S. *We The People - Constitution in American Life*. New York: Abrams, 1987. (Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 100 Fifth Ave., New York, NY 10011.) This companion volume to the PBS series of the same name focuses on how the contemporary constitutional debates echo debates of the past. Grades 7-adult. $29.95.

Rodell, Fred. *55 Men: The Story of the Constitution*. Harrisburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 1986. (P.O. Box 1831, Harrisburg, PA 17108.) Reissue of a readable account

of the men who attended the Constitutional Convention written for the 150th anniversary of the signing of the Constitution. $12.95.

Storing, Herbert J., *What the Antifederalists Were For.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984. (5001 S. Ellis Avenue, Chicago, IL 60637.) An introduction to the political thought of the opponents of the Constitution based on the author's extensive study of the subject. For upper level high school students. $6.95.

Vetterli, Richard, and Gary Bryner, *In Search of the Republic: Public Virtue and the Roots of American Government.* Totowa, NJ: Rowman and Littlefield, 1987. (81 Adams Drive, Totowa, NJ 07512.) An account of the importance of the concept of public virtue in the political thought of the Founding Fathers.

Yeaton, Connie S., and Karen T. Braefel. *A Salute to Our Constitution and the Bill of Rights: 200 years of American Freedom.* Indianapolis: The Indianapolis Star, The Indianapolis News. 1986. (Newspapers in Education, The Indianapolis Star, P.O. Box 145, Indianapolis, IN 46206-0145.) Two volumes: Grades 1-3 and Grades 4-6. Each book has two sections. The first presents model lessons on how to use the newspaper to teach about the ideas in the Constitution. The second section gives lesson ideas that relate the very day life of students to the Constitution. Students use the newspaper, literature, and special decision-making tools. Teachers can duplicate activity pages. $6.95 each.

POSTERS, EXHIBITS, AND SPECIAL MATERIALS FOR THE CLASSROOM

Constitution Poster Triptych. Children's Book Council (For information, send a self-addressed, stamped #10 envelope. 67 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003.) Full-color poster exhibit with a center poster, 17" X 22", depicting American literary figures; two side posters, 11" X 17", features proponents of civil liberties and human rights and expatriates who came to America for individual freedom. $27.50.

Bicentennial calendar notes important events and chronicles the bicentennial year. $1.50 Pocket-sized Constitutions available in packets of 50 or more for $.15 each. Commission on the Bicentennial of the United States Constitution. (The Resource Center, 736 Jackson Place, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20503).

We The People, Commemorative Bicentennial Posters: 1986. Posters with colorful designs. $8 each. Friends of Independence National Historic Park. Write for brochure of bicentennial materials. (313 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, PA 19106.)

Fifty-five Biography Cards. 1986. (Order from: Eastern National Park and Monument Association, 313 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, PA 19106). This set of "trading cards," depicting the delegates to the Constitutional Convention. The face of each card shows a picture of the delegate and the reverse has information on his place in history and his votes at the Convention. Send for information on all bicentennial materials including: $6.50 for a set of cards, $3.50 for a poster of all, $2.75 for a map of Philadelphia in 1787.Friends of Independence National Historic Park. Write for brochure of bicentennial materials. (313 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, PA 19106)

THE MINI PAGE. (Send checks or money orders only to Andrews, McMeel & Parker. P.O. Box 419150, Kansas City, MO 64141. 4-6 week delivery.)

The Mini Page Constitution Series. This series appears in over 450 newspapers across the country. It is written for young readers in a four-page format with information, games, puzzles, and good illustrations. Each issue includes a teacher's guide. Two sets with 6 reprints each are available.
Set 1: Meeting at Mount Vernon, Our country's First Laws, Our First Laws Were Weak, Life in Philadelphia in 1787, Signers of the Constitution, The Compromise.,
Set 2: Chief Justice Warren Burger, Adopting the Constitution, The Preamble, Articles 1, 2, 3.
Grades 1-6. $1.25 plus 75 cents postage and handling per set.

The Signers of the Constitution Poster. This 22"x28" poster is illustrated with the Preamble to the Constitution and reproductions of the portraits and signatures of the men who signed it. Grades 1-12. $2.50 plus 75 cents postage and handling for each poster.

National Archives. "'Tis Done! We Have Become a Nation!" (National Archives Exhibit, Dept. 505, Room G-1, Washington, D.C. 20408). Set of 20 posters, each 31" x 33", made from original documents in holdings of the National Archives starting with the Declaration of Independence and moving on to the Bill of Rights. Brief captions explain the significance of each poster. Suggestions for use are included. $50 plus $3 for shipping and handling.
Declaration of Independence 34" x 43" #6302 $2.
Constitution of the United States 31" x 38" #6301 $2.
Bill of Rights 31" x 33" #6303 $2.
Charters of Freedom: Booklet/documents listed above. $202 $1. National Archives, Washington, D.C. 20408.

Norwood School Living History Project. We Are All A Part of It: U.S.A. 1776 - 1840, by Jean Lutterman. 1985. (Contact Jean Lutterman, Norwood School, 8821 River Road, Bethesda, MD 20817.)

This historical musical contains ten independent scenes to be used along with classroom activities. It is designed to bring children into a participatory learning experience using dialogue and music. Grades K-8.
Introductory Kit: Teachers Guide, 1 student copy music and text. $20 plus $2 for postage and handling.
School Packet: Teachers guide, 25 student copies of music and text, full musical score, cassette (side 1 - Norwood students singing the score, Side 2 - piano accompaniment.) $95 plus $5 for postage and handling.

Pennsylvania Humanities Council. *Leaders of the 1787 Constitutional Convention.* (401 N. Broad St., Suite 818, Philadelphia, PA 19108.) A set of 25 posters with portraits of leaders drawn by Leonard Baskin in black and white. Sent to all schools in Pennsylvania along with a detailed teacher's guide. Available for $20 plus $5 for shipping.

Project '87 "The Blessings of Liberty" - An Exhibit for the Bicentennial of the Constitution. 1986. (Project '87, 1527 New Hampshire Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036)

Twelve full color poster panels, 22" x 36", on the framing of the United States Constitution. Three posters each for: "Leading Up to the Constitution, "The Creation of the Constitution" and "The Enduring Constitution." Teacher's guide provided. $70 per exhibit, including postage; $110 per mounted, free-standing exhibit, including postage.

AUDIO-VISUAL MATERIALS

A compendium of educational media resources related to the history, development, and effects of the United States Constitution has been prepared by the KIDSNET Clearinghouse, operated by PBS. The listing includes materials appropriate for all ages, including adults. A limited number of copies of their compendium are available, and can be obtained by sending a self-addressed, stamped, 8 1/2 x 11" envelope (74 cents postage) to:

PBS Elementary/Secondary Service
1320 Braddock Place
Alexandria, VA 22314

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